# The Image of Gouernaunce compiled of the actes and sentences notable, of the most noble emperour Alexander Seuerus, late translated out of Greke into Englishe, by sir Thomas Elyote knyght, in the fauour of Nobilitee.

ANNO. M.D. XLIX.

BODLEIANA BIBLIOTHECA

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BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

# ¶ To all the nobilitee of this flouriſhyng realme of England, Thomas Elyote knight deſyreth increaſe of vertue and honour.

AS I late was ſerchyng among my bokes, to fynde ſome argument, in the redynge whereof I mought recreate my ſpyrites, beeyng almoſt fatigate with the longe ſtudie about the correctyng and ampliatyng of my Dictionarie, of latine and Engliſhe, I happened to finde certaine quayres of paper, whiche I had writen about nine yeres paſſed: wherin were conteigned the actes and ſentences notable, of the moſt noble emperour Alexander, for his wiſedome and grauitee called Seuerus, which boke was fyrſt writtenin the Greke tonge by his ſecretarie named Eucolpius, and by good chaunce was lente vnto

me by a gentill man of Naples called Pudericus. In readyng wherof I was meruaillouselie rauisshed, and as it hath been euer mine appetite, I wyshed that it had been publisshed in suche a toungue, as moe men mought vnderstande it. Wherfore with all diligence I endeuoured my selfe whiles I had leysour, to translate it into englishe: all be it I coulde not so exactly performe mine enterprise, as I mought haue done, if the owner had not importunately called for his boke, wherby I was constreigned to leaue some part of the worke vntranslated: whiche I made vp, as well as I coulde, with some other Auctours, aswell latines as greekes. hauyng this booke in my hande I remembred, that in my boke named the Gouernour, I promised to write a boke of the fourme of good gouernaunce: And for as muche as in this boke was expressed of gouernaunce so perfyte an image, I supposed, that I shoulde sufficiently discharge my selfe of my promyse, if I did now publishe this boke, which (excepte I be

much

muche deceiued) shall minister to the wise readers bothe pleasure and profite. Than did I ekesoones peruse it, and with more exacte diligence conforme the stile therof with the phrase of our englisch, desiryng more to make it plaine to all readers, than to flourische it with ouer muche eloquence. Which boke I doe dedicate vnto you noble lordes, gentill knightes, and other in the state of honour or worshyp, as beyng moste ready to be aduaunced to gouernaunce vnder your prince: so that your vertues be correspondent vnto your fortune. Yet am I not ignorant, that diuers there be, whiche doe not thankfully esteme my labours, dispraisyng my studies as vayne and vnprofitable, saiyng in derision, that I haue nothyng wonne therby, but the name onely of a maker of bokes, and that I set the trees, but the printer eateth the fruites. In deede although disdeigne and enuie dooe cause theim to speake it, yet will I not denie, but that they saie truely: for if I would haue employed my studie aboute the increase of my

ornate commoditie, whiche I haue spent in writynge of bokes for others necessetee, fewe men doubte (I suppose) that dooe knowe me, but that I shulde haue attayned ere this tyme to haue bene muche more welthy, and in respecte of the worlde in a more estimacion. But to excuse me of folie, I will professe without arrogaunce, that whan I considered, that counnyng continueth whan fortune flitteth, hauyng also ringyng alwaye in mine eare, the terrible checke that the good maister in the gospel gaue to his idell seruaunt, for hidyng his money in a cloute, and not disposyng it for his maisters aduauntage, those two wordes, Serue nequam, so steerred my
Mat. 8. spyrites, that it caused me to take more regarde to my laste reckenynge, than to any richesse or worldely promocion. And although I dooe neyther dispute nor expounde holy scripture, yet in suche workes as I haue and entende to sette foorth, my poore talent shall be, God willyng, in suche wyse bestowed, that noe mans conscience shall be therewith offended,

ded, my boke called the Gouernour, instructyng men in suche vertues as shall be expedient for theim, whiche shall haue auctorite in a weale publike. The Doctrinall of princes, whiche are but the counsailes of wise Isocrates, inducyng into noble mens wittes honest opinions. The Education of childern, which also I translated out of the wise Plutarche, makyng men and women, whiche will folow those rules, to be well worthy to be fathers and mothers. The litle Pasquill, although he be merie and plaine, teachyng aswel seruantes how to be faithfull vnto theyr maisters, as also maisters howe to be circumspect in espiyng of flaterers. Semblable the office of a good counsailour, with magnanimitee or good courage in tyme of aduersitee, maie bee apparantly founden in mie boke called, Of the knowlage belongynge to a wise man. In readyng the sermon of sainct Cyprian by me translated, the deuout reader shall find no litle comfort in plagues or calamitees. The Banket of Sapience is not fastidi-

ouse, and in litle roume sheweth out of holie scripture many wyse sentences. The Castell of health beynge truely read, shall longe preserue men (beyng some physicions neuer so angrie) from perillouse sickenesse. My litle boke called the defence of good women, not onely confoundeth villainous reporte, but also teacheth good wyues to knowe well theyr duitees. My Dictionarie declarying latine by englische, by that tyme that I haue performed it, it shall not onely serue for children, as men haue excepted it, but also shall be commodious for theim, which perchaunce be well learned. And this present boke, whiche I haue named the Image of gouernaunce, shall be to all theim, which will reade it sincerely, a verate true paterne, wherby they maie shape all theyr procedynges. And in none of these woorkes I dare vndertake, a man shall finde any sentence against the commaundementes of God, the true catholike faieth, or occasion to steere men to wäuton deuises. Wherfore I trust vnto God, mine accompt

shall

ſhall of hym bee fauourablie acceſ-
pted: althoughe ſome ingrate perſon
with ill repoꝛte oꝛ mockes requite ill
my labours: to whom I wyll onely
recyte this merye fable of Æſope,
writen by Maximus Planudes.
¶ A good woman had an huſbande,
who wolde be often tymes dꝛunken,
wherwith ſhe beyng aſhamed, and
deuiſyng by what meane ſhe mighte
cauſe him to leaue that hoꝛrible vice,
at the laſte whan he was aſleepe, ſhe
caried hym vnto the charnell houſe,
wherin were put the bones of deade
men, and leauyng him lyng there, ſhe
made faſte the dooꝛe, and departed.
And whan ſhe thought that he was
wakyng, ſhe takyng with hir bꝛead
and meate, retourned to the charnell
houſe, and knocked at the dooꝛe, hir
huſbande faintly aſked who knocked
there, the good woman anſwered, I
whiche haue bꝛought meate with me
foꝛ the deade men, peace ſaied hir
huſbande, thou increaſeſt my payne
in ſpeakyng of meate, bꝛyng me ſome
dꝛinke I beſeche the. That hearyng
the good woman, alas ſaied ſhe that
euer

euer I was borne, for this vice gotten by custome, my housbande hath made it a naturall habyte, whiche will neuer forsake him.

¶ This fable needeth no declaration: for euerie man maie perceyue what it meaneth. Moreouer many beyng ignorant of good letters, doe vniuersally reproue all them that be studiouse in learnyng, allegeyng this common prouerbe, The greatest clerkes bee not the wysest men: affirmyng, that they be founden negligent about their owne profit, and consequently vnapt to the ministracion of thynges of weighty importance. How vntrue their allegacions be, and on how feble a foundacion thei are builded, it shall in this wise appere vnto wise men.

Fyrste the saied prouerbe seemeth by hym, whiche lacked learnyng, to bee deuised, sens that he preferreth ignoraunce before cunnyng, whiche arrogance declared him to be a very foole, and vnwittie: consyderyng that by knowlage most chiefly, a man excelleth all other mortall creatures, and therby is moste lyke vnto god. And

leas-

learnyng is none other thyng, but an aggregacion of many mens sentences and actes to the augmentacion of knowlage. And if some learned men doe neglecte theyr temporall commodities, it is for one of these causes: either because they haue been so destrouse of knowlage, and in respecte therof estemed so litell all other pleasures, that they thought the tyme all to littell, which they did spende in it, holdyng theim selfes with that whiche serued for natures necessitie right well cõtented: or els like as the greahounde that was sent to great Alexander by the kyng of Albania, whã there were shewed vnto hym seuerally a great harte, a boze, and a beare, he wouchsed not sause to loke on them but lay still waggyng his taile: than was there brought forth a great lyon, to whom he did arise softely, and settynge vp his bristels, and shewyng his teeth, fleeyng to the lyon, lightly strangled hym. Afterward a puissant olyphant being brought to the place, the grehound seming to reioice at the greatnes of the beast, rouled him, and after

after two or three questyones, he lept to the great Olyphante, and after a longe fight ouerthrew hym and kylled hym. So I doubt not but that some men there be liuyng, in whom is suche courage, that in thynges of little importaunce maie seeme to be negligent, disdeignyng as it were to spende theyr wittes or labours about the pelfrie of riches: whiche beeyng ones called to auctoritee, ioygned with libertee, will inforce theim selfes to make theyr ministracions noble and excellent. Suche were Solon, Aristides, and Phocion in Athenes: Publicola, Fabricius, Curius, and Cato Uticencis at Rome, whose liues I would to god were in englisch, and the lyke be nowe liuyng, if they were sought for.

¶ And for the confutacion of that pestiferous opinion, the great learned men be vnapte to the ministracion of thynges of weighty importance, this shall be sufficient. Fyrste, as I late saied, learnyng is the augmentacion of knowlage, whiche the more it is, the more may be perceiued what shal be most

be moste necessary in thynges, that happen in consultation: and the more it is perceiued, the better and more aptly maie it be ministred and executed. Examples we haue of Moyses, who beyng excellently learned in the most diffuse doctrines of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, was by almightie god chosen to guyde and rule his people, which were innumerable and most frowarde of nature: and with what wonderfull wisedome and patience dyd he gouerne theym by the space of .xl. yeres, beyng without any cities, townes, or any certaine possessions: who were better leders of armies than great Alexander, Scipio, Lucullus, and Cæsar, whiche were men all of great learning: who better handled matters of weighty importaunce than Octauian called Augustus, Hadrian, Marcus Antonius, Alexander Seuerus, and of late yeres Carolus Magnus, all emperours of Rome, and men very studiouse in all noble sciences: whan was there a better consull than Tully, or a better senatour than Cato called Vticencis:

And

And to retourne home to our owne countrey, and wherof we our selues maie be witnesses, how muche hath it profited vnto this realme, that it now hath a king our soueregne lord kinge Henry the eyght exactely well learned? Hath not he therby onely lifted out detestable heresies, late mingled among the corne of his faiethful subiectes, and caused muche of the chaffe to be throwen in the fyre? Also hypocrisie and vayne superstition to bee cleane banished? Wherof I doubte not, but that there shall be or it bee longe, a more ample remembraunce, to his moste noble and immortall renoume? This well considered, lette men ceasse theyr saied foolishe opinion, and holde theym contente with theyr owne ignoraunce, and for my part, saie what they liste, I wyll duryng my lyfe, be in this wyse occupyed, in bestowyng my talent, beyng satisfied with the contentyng of suche men as ye be, adourned with vertue, the moste precious garment of verie nobilitee.

¶ But nowe to the intent that ye, if

ye lyst,

ye lyst, maie atteine inestimable profite by the reading of this litle worke, I doe exhorte you, that readyng it distinctly and studiously, firste ye marke diligently, howe by the lasciuious and remisse education of Varius Heliogabalus, he grewe to be a person moste monstruous in liuyng: also howe not withstandyng, that he not onely suffered, but also prouoked the people to liue in a most beastly licence: yet horrible sinne at the last became to all men fastidious and lothsome. Wherfore they slewe in moste miserable facion hym that consumed infinite treasure in supportyng theyr lewdenesse. Than shall ye note diligently, howe muche it profited to Alexander, who nexte dydde succede hym, that he had so wyse and vertuous a mother, and that he was brought vp amonge so wyse counsailours. Also the maner of his mernatlouse procedynges, in reformyng a publike weale, lefte vnto hym corrupted so shamefully, wherin was more difficultee, than to beginne it, where neuer was any. Marke also

his

his moſt noble qualitees, and howe they were tempred. Moreouer the forme of his ſpeakyng, and how as he grewe in yeres, ſo waxed it more mature and ſeryouſe, ſometyme aboundaunt, otherwhyles ſhorte and compendiouſe, as oportunitee ſerued. In his actes and decrees, what iuſtice and prudence were in theim conteigned, what ſeueritee he vſed, ſparyng neither him ſelfe, nor his frendes or miniſters. Finally, all his lyfe is a wonderfull myrrour, if it be truely read and iuſtlie conſidered, which if ye doe often loke on, ye maie therby attire your ſelfe in ſuche facion, as men ſhall therfore haue you in more fauour and honour, than if ye had on you as riche a garment as the great Turke hath any. Onely for my good will in tranſlatyng it for you, I deſire your gentill report and aſſiſtence againſt them, whiche hate all thynges, that pleaſe not their fantaſies.

F what lygnage the emperour Alexandre was, and the signes betokenyng his empyre Cap. 1.

¶ The education of Alexander, and howe he profited in vertue and doctrine. Capitu. 2.

¶ Of the monstruouse lyuynge of the emperour Varius Heliogabalus, wherby the citee of Rome was corrupted. Capi. 3.

¶ Howe Alexander was made emperour, and of his wonderfull temperance in refusyng diuers great honours. Cap. 4.

¶ The example of vertue by Alexandre in the fourme of his liuynge and daiely customes. Cap. 5.

¶ The letter of Gordian the senatour to the emperour Alexander. Capi. 6.

¶ The answere of Alexander to the letters of Gordian. Capi. 7.

¶ The firste practise of Alexander in reducynge of the empire into his pristinate honour. Cap. 8.

¶ In what fourme the emperour Alexander had his counsayle, whiche alwaie attended vpon his person. Cap. 9

¶ The oracion of Alexander to the senate. Capitulo. 10.

¶ Howe the correctours of maners, called Censors were elected, and with what rigour they executed their office by the com-

maundement of Alexander. Cap. 11.
¶ Of the great prudence of Alexander vsed in the election of his counsailours and officers. Cap. 12.
¶ Howe extremely Alexander hated extortioners and bubours, and howe muche he fauoured theym that were vertuouse. Capitulo. 13.
¶ A notable exaumple geuen by Alexander in repreuyng an ambitiouse and vaingloriouse counsailour. Cap. 14.
¶ The consultacion concernynge the punisshemente of Turinus, and the excellent reason of the emperour Alexander. Capitulo. 15.
¶ Howe Alexander instructed and entertaygned theim that were officers, and of his liberalitee towarde theim that did well theyr duitees. Cap. 16.
¶ Howe curious the Emperour Alexander was in assignyng of iustices in his lawes, and how he vsed leberalitee or sharpenesse towardes theym, accordynge to theyr merites. Cap. 17.
¶ Of the great care and diligence that Alexander vsed aboute the publike weale, and of certayne newe officers ordeined by hym. Capitulo. 18.
¶ Howe the emperour Alexander dyd ordeyne newe officers in the weale publyke, and what belonged to theyr auctho̅itees. Capitulo, 19.

The

¶ The detestacion that Alexander had vnto idelnes, and the vyces therof procedynge, and of dyuers prouisions that he made agaynst it. Cap. 20.

¶ Of baines and places of exercises, made for the people of Rome, by the emperour Alexander. Cap. 21.

¶ Of the magnificēce of the emperour Alexander in sumptuouse and necessary woorkes, and in what exercises he cauled the nobilitee and gentilmen of Rome to be occupied. Cap. 22.

¶ Of hospitals and other prouision made by Alexander for men that were decrepite, or so diseased that they coulde not labour. Capitulo. 23.

¶ In howe sundrie wise Alexander exercysed his owne persone, so that he was neuer vnprofitably occupied. Cap. 24.

¶ Howe the emperour Alexander, at the requeste of his mother Mammea, sente for the most excellent clerke Origen: and of diuers notable sentences spoken by the same emperour, concernyng the receiuyng of the christen faieth. Cap. 25.

¶ How Mammea the emperours mother exhorted hym to be marted, and what wise aunsweres he made, and finally toke to wyfe the doughter of a noble and auncient senatour. Cap. 26.

¶ Of the seueritee that Alexander vsed, as well towarde theym that were proude, as

to them that were malaperte and dyd not theyr duitie. Cap. 27.
¶ The oracion of the emperour Alexander to the people of Rome. Cap. 28.
¶ The seuerities that the emperour Alexander vsed in chastisyng as well the pride of the people, as also his men of warre or souldiours. Cap. 29.
¶ How the emperour Alexander reformed the vsury, wherof he spoke afore in his oracion made to the people. Cap. 30.
¶ The sentence of Catelius. eod.
¶ The sentence of Gordian. eod.
¶ The lawe concernynge vsuries made by the emperour, Senate, and people of Rome. Cap. 31.
¶ What loue and beneuolence the emperour shewed to the people of Rome, and of other his wonderfull vertues. Cap. 32.
¶ Of the circumspecte curiositie of the emperour Alexander in admittynge counsaylours. And of his aunswere touchynge that mattier. Cap. 33.
¶ The moste noble aunswere of Alexander made to Alphenus, concernynge the disabiyng of Sextilius Rufus in his absence. Capitulo. 34.
¶ Howe Sextilius hearynge that he was made pretour, fledde: And what the emperour saied concernynge that mattier. Capitulo. 35.
¶ The letters of the emperour Alexander sent

lent to Sextilius, and howe vnwillyngly he returned to Rome, and receiued the office of Pretour. Cap. 36.

¶ A notable question meued by Julius Paulus vnto the emperour Alexander. And the wyse aunswere, whiche he therunto made. Cap. 37.

¶ Of a great exclamacion made agaynste a gentilman called Marcus Eminus by his lybertines. And the oracion of Junius Moderatus, made in the senate. Ca. 38.

¶ The oracion of Junius Moderatus. eo.

¶ The wonderfull prudence and equitee shewed by Alexander the emperour, in the determinacion and sentence in the matter precedyng. Cap. 39.

¶ Thus endeth the table.

# Of what linage the emperour Alexander was, and the signes betokenyng his empire.

Capitulo. i.

Aurelyus Alexander, sometyme emperour of Rome, was borne in the realme of Syria, in the citee of Arcene: whose father had to name Darius, whiche was lineallye descended from the noble house of Metellus the Romayne, called Metellus the vertuouse. All be it, some writers suppose, that Seuerus, before he was emperour, was amorous of a woman in Syria, and by the arte of Astronomie, findynge in hyr natiuitee, that she shoulde be an emperours mother, he toke hir to wyfe, and had issue by hir Darius the father of Alexander: but finally the progenie of this emperour is very vncertayne:

wherfore in myne opinion his lyfe and actes be the more to bee honoured and meruailed at, considerynge that beyng come of so vncertayne a linage, and borne so farre from the citee of Rome, and in so barbarouse a countrey, he coulde so well gouerne the empyre of Rome, whiche before his tyme was with pryde and other detestable vices extremely corrupted.

¶ The mother of Alexander was called Mammea, a woman of notable wisedome, as it shall hereafter appeare by the bringynge vp of hir sonne, and preseruynge of hym as well from the vices, wherunto he was not onely prouoked, but also well nygh constreigned by that moste beastlie emperour Varius Heliogabalus, his cousin germaine and predecessour, not withstandynge there was in that noble woman Mammea, a greatte spice of auarice in gatherynge and heypynge of treasure, whiche finally was the onely cause of the deathe bothe of hir and hir soonne. The sayde Mammea was doughter of a woman called Mesa, whiche was borne in Phe-

nicia,

nicia, in a towne called Emesa, and was sister of Julia, wyfe of the emperour Seuerus. This Mesa liuyng, Seuerus and Bassianus his soonne, was continually abidyng in the courtes of those emperours: and after the decease of Bassianus, she was commaunded by Macrinus, than emperour, to departe to hir countrey, albeit, the emperour graunted, that she shoulde take with hir suche treasure, as she had gathered, whiche was aboundant. She had also two doughters, the one called Semiamira, the other Mammea. Semiamira had a sonne named Bassianus, whiche was of excellent beautie. And because he was prelate in the temple of the son, whom the Phenices doe calle Heliogabalus, he was semblablie called by that name, hauynge added therto the name of Varius, whiche is in englishe dyuers, forasmuche as some men suppose, that he was conceiued of the sede of dyuers men, his mother Semiamira, beynge incontinent, and as it were common to many men, duryng the tyme that she abode in the

 empe-

emperours courte with hir mother. Not withstandynge hir sonne Heliogabalus, by the craftie meanes of his graundame Mesa, was declared to be the sonne of the emperour Bassianus, and by the fauour of the men of warre of the Romaynes, who than murmured, and had in hatred the pride and crueltee of Macrinus (who was emperour after Bassianus) and his sonne Diadumenus, the saied Varius Heliogabalus was aduaunced vnto the empyre, who with voluptuous and monstruous liuyng, in suche wise corrupted the citee of Rome, that therin vnneth remained any steppe of vertue or honestie.

¶ Contrarie wise the other doughter of Mesa, called Mammea, of whom I intende nowe to wryte, induced rather by nature and reason, than by the exaumple of hir vicious mother, so nourished and trained hir saide sonne Alexander in vertue and learnynge, that partely by hir education, but muche more by his owne inclination naturall, he became one of the moste perfecte princes that euer gouerned.

The

¶ The educacion of Alexander, and howe he profited in vertue and doctrine. Capitulo. ii.

TOuchyng the educacion in childhode of Alexander, his noble mother Mammea failed not to prouide with all diligence and circumspection, that he mought be nourisshed in vertue, and amonge honeste compaine, and that fro the tyme that he issued out of his infancie, he were continually instructed in all maner of doctrine, bothe ciuile and marciall: so that afterwarde he of his owne courage neuer suffred any daie to passe, without exercisyng hym selfe either in letters, or in feates marciall.

¶ In the firste parte of childehode he had instructours, Valerius Cordius, Titus Veturius, and Aurelius Philippus: whiche afterwarde wrote his lyfe. Also in his countrey he was taught in Greke by Nebo the grammarian, & the Rhetorician Serapio & Stilio the philosophier. At Rome he had teachers in the latyne tounge: first in grammer Scaurius a famouse maister,

maister, in rhetorike he was instructed by Julius frontinus, Vedius Pacrinus, and Julianus Graianus. All be it, he dyd not so muche delite in latine eloquence, as in the greke, ne dyd therin profite so muche: but he loued all men that were learned, and feared theym also, leste they should write of hym any thynge sharply, or to his rebuke.

¶ Moreouer he sente often tymes for those excellente personages, communicatyng with them thynges, whiche were dooen as well priuily as also openly, willynge theym, that all that they founde to bee true, they shoulde put it in writyng: sufferyng also theim to reproue hym, whan they seemed conuenient. Often tymes he made verses in Greeke veray pleasaunt, and was muche inclined to muslike. In the mathematicall sciences, that is to sate, Arithmetike, Geometrie, and Astronomie, he was very well learned. And therfore dyuers tymes by his commaundemente, the professours of those sciences purposed openly questious. In diuinacion he was so excel-

lente,

lente, that he therin surmounted the diuinours of Gascoyne, Spaine, and Hungary. He peinted also excellently. Also he dyd synge verale pleasauntly, but neuer in the presence of any other but onely his seruauntes and pages of his priuie chaumbre. He wrate the lyues of good princes in verses eloquently, and sange theym vnto the harpe and organes ryght swetely: but that dyd he onely for recreatynge his spirites, whan they were troubled with vehemente studie: as it often tymes hapned by incomparable labour about the great affayres of the weale publyke. He was of visage faire and well proporcioned in body, large and goodly of personage, and therewith stronge and durable to susteigne peines, as he that knewe his owne strengthe, and in the preseruyng therof was not founde negligent. Therto he was amiable, and towarde euery man gentill, and easie to bee spoken vnto. Also there was in him so muche humanitee and benevolence, that he wolde often tymes visyte not onely the best and the seconde of his friendes

Description of Alexander Seuerus

and

and seruauntes beynge sicke, but also theym that were inferiours, and of base hautour, desyrynge theym to tell hym freely what they thought of hym, whom he wolde attentifely here. And whan he had heardе theim throughly, than as the thynge, whiche was spoken of, dyd require, he wolde diligently amende and correcte it. And whan his mother wouldе sate often tymes to hym: Syr ye be to familyar and easy, and therfore ye shall cause the imperiall astate to bee the lesse set by: he aunswearеd thus, But yet shall it be more sure, and continue the longer.

¶ This was his disposicion, procedynge as well of the perfection of his moste gentill nature, as of the educacion of his good and circumspecte mother.

¶ Nowe wyll I procede to write of his excellent wisedome and vertue, experienced in his auctoritee imperiall, wherin was declared the moste perfecte forme of gouernaunce, that euer was practised by any prynce (as I suppose) whiche shall appeare the more

more manifestely, yt fyrste I treate somewhat of the most miserable astate of the weale publyke, and as it semed incorrigible, at the tyme that he receiued the gouernance therof, he than beynge but. xvi. yeres of age, whiche well considered and kepte in remembrance, this history shalbe to the readers therof (excepte I bee deceyued) bothe pleasant and mervaylouse, and no lesse profitable to gouernours, that doe preferre theyr publyke weale before wylfull appetite and particuler pleasures.

## ¶ Of the monstruous lyuynge of the emperour Varius Heliogabalus, wherby the cite of Rome was corrupted Capitulo. iii.

Macrinus the emperour for his auarice and tyrannie beynge abandoned (or rather betrayed) of his owne people, and slayne with his sonne Diadumenus (who in beautee and goodly stature excelled all men of his tyme) Varius Helyogabalus, of whom I late spake, was admaunted vnto the empire, by the whole consent

Tiranny and auarice.

consente of the Senate and people of Rome, who gaue hasty credence to all reportes that were made to the honour and praise of their newe princes. (Suche is the appetites of men, whiche bee meeued anone with credulitee: for suche thynges as they desyre, they couette to here of, and doe delite in newe tidynges, though it be falsely reported.) But as soone as Heliogabalus was come to Rome, out of the countrey of Syria, he immediately declared his beastly nature, by insuynge vices moste abhominable, and aduancynge the fauourers and haunters of the same vices, and inforcynge with all his studie and puissaunce, to exterminate out of the citee of Rome all vertue and honestie, from whense a litteli before, all the worlde receiued doctrine and example of honour, concernyng as well vertuous maners, as marciall prowesse.

¶ Firste in lecherie this Heliogabalus was so insaciable, that not onely he exercised that vice openly, in common bathes and bordell houses, with sundry women of diuers degrees and

Countreis: but also he ordeigned a senate of common harlottes: amonge whom were diuerse noble matrones and damsels of Rome, their husbandes or parentes not being so hardy to let or rebuke them: vnto whom often tymes after he and his ribaulde had saciate with theym theyr lecherouse appetites, he made a solemne concion or proposicion, callyng them his companions, & exhortinge them to set all theyr studie and witte to induce all other women vnto the fourme of theyr liuynge: declaryng expressely, that he aboue all other thinges most desyred, that all men and women of the citee of Rome should be semblably disposed as he was.

¶ I holde it not conuenient to bee written in any vulgare tounge, howe he transformed and abused his propre kynde, in such wise, as I suppose the moste vicious man now liuing wolde be ashamed, not onely to beholde it, but also to here it, and that did he not onely secretly or in his house, but also openly, all men that wolde, beholdyng and lokynge on hym. I omitte

the residue, whiche in mine opinion ought neuer to haue bene written for abomination therof, muche more neuer to haue been of any man knowen. ¶ He also promoted to the greatest dignitees of the publike weale, common bawdes, notable ribaulde, solicitours and furtherers of dishonest appetites, often tymes cokes and deuisers of lecherous confections and sawces: Semblablie by suche persones he solde dignitees, auctorites and offices in the publyke weale. He also elected into the Senate, and to the roumes of greatte capitaynes, Dukes, and gouernours of countreis, most vile personages, not hauyng regarde to any age, gentilnesse of bloud, merite, possessions or substaunce. He had of his priuie counsayle in all his actes, two Carters, the one named Protogenes, and the other Cordius. His gluttonie was almoste equall to his lethery: in so muche as he therin vanquished Vitellius, of whom it is written, that at one supper he was serued with seuen thousande fisshes, and fyue thousande soules.

Whan

¶When Heliogabalus soiourned nygh to the sea, he wolde neuer be serued with sea fysshe: but being in places farre distaut from the sea, he caused all his housholde to be serued with most delicate sea fysshe.

¶It abhorreth me to expresse his beastly lyuyng, but to the intent that thexcellent vertues of his most noble successour shalbe more apparant and commendable (like as all thyng that is vile or course, doth set forth more pleasantly that thynge which is precious and fine) it is requisite that I describe this monster in some part as he was. All be it I doe not tell euery thyng that I haue redde of hym, as well for that it shall bee to good men odious to here, as also it moughte happen to incende the wanton and lewde courages of some readers, inclined to semblable qualitees, whiche (god knoweth) is much contrary vnto my purpose.

¶But to retourne to this monstruous Emperour, whiche consumed daies and nightes in lechery and glotony, hauyng some daie all his com-

pany serued with the braines of Ostriches, and a strange foule called Phenocopteri: an other day with the toũges of Popingaies, Nightyngales, and other sweete singyng birdes, oftentimes with the miltes of moste delicate fisshes. I omitte other lighte fantasies, wherof I haue wriitten in my boke called the Gouernor, where I treate of sobrietee.

¶ Fynallie it is remembred, that he was neuer two daies together serued with one meate, nor ware twise one garmente, nor companied twise with one woman, except his wife. as often as he remoued in progresse, there followed hym. vi. C. chariotes laded onely with handes, common harlottes, and ribauldes. This company had he in stede of counsailours, and so delited in this forme of liuing, that he saied oftentymes, that if he had a sonne, he wolde ordeine for him maisters, that shoulde compell him to liue in semblable facion.

¶ To these monstrous vices he added crueltee, in puttyng to death diuerse noble senatours. Also vsing the counsayle

saple of witches and inchaunters, he made his sacrifice with younge children: And violently rauisshinge from the noble men and women of Italy, theyr yonge infantes, he caused in his presence theyr bodies to be opened, they liuynge, and moste cruelly searched in their tender bowelles for his moste damnable destenie. He had in speciall fauour one named Zoticus, who for familiaritee vsed betweene theym, was taken of all the chiefe officers for the emperours husbande. This Zoticus vnder the colour of the saied familiaritee, solde all the saiynges and doynges of the emperour, intendynge to accumilate abundance of richesse, by promisynge sayre to many men, but finally deceiuynge all mē, for coming out of the emperours priuie chaumbre, after that he had herde euery man speake, that sued to hym, to some he woulde saie: Thus saied I to the emperour of you. Unto an other: Of you I hearde the emperour saie thus to daie. To diuerse he woulde saye, your matter or requeste shall come thus to passe. As

is the faction of suche maner of persones, which beyng from a base condicion admitted of princes into ouermuche familiaritee, thei sell the fame and renoume of theyr maisters.

¶ Suche as I haue rehersed were the counsailours of Heliogabalus, for all wise and vertuous men he deadly hated. Wherfore he banished the noble man Sabinus, vnto whom Vlpianus the great lawier wrate his bokes. And semblably he put out of the citee the sayde Vlpian, onely because he was named a good man: and caused Siluius the noble oratour, whom he had made maister to Alexander, to be put to death. And he ordeined a tumbler to be great maister of his householde, a carter named Gordius he made capitayne of his garde. An other tumbler he made chife capitaine of an army. The greattest roumes and affaires of the empyre, he committed to minstrels, players of enterludes and disardes. His bondemen and moste vile seruauntes, as they excelled in abhominacion, so preferred he theim to the gouernaunce of

Herodi. 5.

realmes

realmes and prouinces.

¶ Also of his rabell of brothelles, to some he gaue the rule and gouernance of the youth of the citee: some he made rulers of the Senate, to other he gaue preeminence and soueraintee ouer all theim that were gentilmen, finally he intended to destroy all vertue, and to constreigne all men to liue beastly as he dyd. And for that cause he commaunded, that the noble Alexander his auntes sonne, shoulde be slayne, either violently, or by some poyson: forasmuche as he perceyued hym to decline from his appetite: but Alexander was alwaye preserued by the prouydence of God, who inclyned the mindes of the senate & people to his preseruacion. For nothyng auaileth the malice of tyrannes against innocētes and good men, where almighty god will not haue theim to perysshe. Wherfore this mōstruous emperour, desiring the destruction of Alexander, procured his owne deathe, agreable with his abhominable liuyng: for his owne seruantes and souldiours, whiche were prepared for the garde

of his persone, dreadyng lest the people makynge insurrection, that they shoulde bee parteners of his mischieuous ende, beyng also tediouse of his abhominacions, conspired to delyuer the common weale of hym. And sodeinely apprehended his adherentes and familiars, and with sundrie tourmentes dyd put theym to death. Finally pursuynge Heliogabalus to a priuy or draught, wherunto he fled, there they slewe hym, and his mother Semiamira, and afterwarde his horrible carayne beyng drawen thoroughout the citee with hookes, was of all the people defiled with ordure, and other mattier foule and stinking, and at the laste was brought with all kyndes of reproache to the common draughtes of the citee, wherinto they woulde haue throwen hym, but for as muche as the hole of the draught coulde not receiue hym, they tyed hym to a stone of great weight, and threwe him into the ryuer of Tyber, to the entent that he should neuer be buried.

¶ This was the worthy and conue-

nient

nient end of this most beastly and vncleane monster, who with the emperours Nero, Caligula, Domitian, & Commodus, his predecessours, was a notable & commodius example to all princes succeding, to declare, that not withstanding their maiestie and puissãce, thei for their vices abhominable were first hated, & afterwarde slayne, and dishonoured by their proper subiectes.

¶ And in this historie it is to bee specially noted, that not withstandynge, that he not onely permitted, but also willed his subiectes to lyue in a lycence, and without correction, for sin: moreouer he vsed towarde theym suche liberalitee, that he fedde theym with moste delicate & exquisite meates, gaue vnto theym money in habundance, and also to theim, whiche dined or supped with him, he gaue all the vessell and plate, were it of golde or siluer, wherewith he was serued, and made many other distributions to the whole people wonderfull sumtuouse: Yet the Romaynes notwithstanding, abhorring in him their

owne propre vices, or rather beynge therwith satiate or tedious, they finally slewe hym, as before is written, after that he had reigned sixe yeeres, and beynge than but in the. xxi. yere of his age.

## ¶ Howe Alexander was made emperour, and of his wonderfull temperance in refusyng dyuerse great honours. Capitulo. iiii.

Immediately after the deathe of Heliogabal⁹, the senate and people of Rome, beyng surprised with incredible ioye, vsed all diligence and spede, that Aurelius Alexander, whome they hadde defended from deathe, mought foorthwith as verie emperour receiue all auctoritee and honour, that perteined to the imperiall maiestee. Wherfore they contended amonge theym selues, whiche of theym mought applie to hym most titles and names of dignitee. Wherfore he was the fyrst that receiued at one tyme all ornamentes and tokens of honour, addyng therto the name of

Cæsar,

Cæsar, whiche a fewe yeres before he had receiued, but muche rather his honeste lyfe and vertuouse maners, wherby he obteined suche fauour of all men, that whan Heliogabalus would haue slaine hym, he coulde not bringe it to passe, the men of armes resistynge, and the senate obstinately refusyng: but all those were but trifels in regarde that he approued hym selfe worthy, whom the senate ought to saue harmeleſſe, whom the men of warre desyred to be in sauegarde, and generally by the sentence and opinion of all good men, was elected to be emperour, beynge than but of the age of xvi. yeeres. Notwithstandynge he was than of suche a wonderfull soberuesse, that where the senate wolde haue geuen to him the surname of Antonine (whiche name for the incomparable vertues that were in antoninus Pius, and Antoninus the philosopher late emperours, was vsurped of other emperours, folowyng) for a principall title of honour, he humblie refused it: semblablie dyd he the name of great Alexander, saiyng

openly

openly vnto the senate: I beseeche you honourable fathers doe not call me vnto this necessitee, that I should bee compelled to satisfie you in the merites of so hyghe a name as Antonine is. For if ye seke for goodnesse in a prince, who was better or more vertuouse than Antoninus Pius? If ye seke learnynge, who was more wise or cunnynge than Marcus Antoninus? And who was more harmeleſſe than Verus Antoninus? Noble fathers, these hyghe names of honour be bourdenous and to greuouse for my youthe to susteygne. For who wyll gladly heare a dumme man called Tully, an idiote Varro, a tyranne Metellus? And as touchynge the name of great Alexander, it is muche more incongruente, considerynge that with better reason I mought haue taken the name of Antonine, induced by colour eyther of affinitee, or elles of equall astate in the imperiall maiestee: but the name of great Alexander, wherfore shoulde I haue it? What greatte thynges haue I yet dooen to deserue that

name

name, whiche Alexander the Greeke after great enterpriles, Pompey the Romayne after many triumphes, had geuen vnto theym? Leaſe therefore honourable fathers, to conferre to me honours aboue my merites, and ſens ye wyll haue me called Great, ſuffer me to be one of you, who in very deede bee great in honour and perfite magnificence.

¶ This moderate and ſobre anſwere of ſo younge a prince, inflamed immediately the hertes of the Senate and people, muche more to honour hym, than if he had receiued thoſe ſtraunge names: and from that tyme he had the renoume of conſtance and grauitee.

¶ Moreouer for his great Auſteritee againe the preſumpcion and lyghtnes of his ſouldiours and ſeruauntes, he was named of theym Seuerus, whiche betokeneth conſtant or ſharpe in punichment. Whiche name in his tyme gatte hym muche reuerence, and afterwarde great fame and renoume amonge his ſucceſſours. Finally this moſt towardly prince with incredible

dyble ioie was tryumphantly conueighed by all the Senate and people, to the imperiall palaice: where beyng ielte, he prepared hym selfe to the reformation of the whole empire, than beyng in ruine.

¶ The example of vertue geuen by Alexander in the fourme of his liuing and dayly customes Capi. v.

Immediately after that Alexander, by the consent of the senate and people, was stablished in the imperiall auctoritee, and for his excellent goodnesse was moste ardently beloued of the multitude, also the remembrauuce of Heliogabalus and his adherentes, for theyr detestable vices beynge euery where hated, and with detestacion abhorred: This noble ponge emperour, takynge than oportunitee, to restore the publyke weale to hir pristinate fourme, with the maiestie imperiall, late violated, and well nygh perished, through the negligence of the saide monster: by the counsayle of his wise and vertuouse

mother

mother Mammea, kyste purged his owne palaice, excludynge out of his courte and all offices, dishoneſt and infamed perſonages, and by no meanes woulde ſuffre to bee in his houſholde any other, than by all menne ſhoulde be thought neceſſarie. Moreouer he openly proteſted, makyng an othe, that he woulde neuer haue a ſuperfluouſe noumbre of ſeruauntes, to the entent that he woulde not greeue the publyke weale with his prouiſion, ſaiyng: That emperour is a ſhrewde pupill, that feedeth with the bowels of his commons, men whiche be not neceſſarie, nor yet profitable to the weake publike.

¶ Howe much he hated vncleanneſſe of liuyng, he well declared, whan he commanded that no woman infamed ſhould ſalute or viſite his wyfe or his mother. All his lyfe was a perfecte exaumple of temperaunce. His apparayle was wonderfullcleane, but not to ſumptuouſe, and after ſome mens opinion, more meaner than to his eſtate apperteined. Semblable moderacion the empreſſe his wife obſerued. Finally duryng his tyme he

vſed

vsed diligente correction of his owne maners: wherfore all noble men assaied to folowe hym. And all honourable women ensued the empresses exaumple.

¶ Moreouer this emperour was of suche an incomparable mansuetude, that he commaunded, that no man shoulde write vnto hym in any other fourme, than shoulde bee written to a priuate person, reseruyng the name of emperour. And also prohibited, that no man shoulde call him lorde, but salute hym as one of the senatours, and in this fourme, Be gladde Alexander. And if a man had vsed in gesture or speache any maner of flattery, he was either put backe, if the place so required, or els with a great laughter was mocked by them which were present.

Iune Alexander.

¶ And for as muche as he would not be saluted or visited but of them whiche were honeste, and of good fame, he decreed, that no man shoulde enter into his palaice, but onely suche as knewe them selues vncorrupted with notable vices. And caused to be proclaimed, that no persone, knowyng hym

hym selfe to be a theefe or extorcioner, shoulde be so hardy to salute the emperour, vpon peyne of lesyng his life. He had this sentence often tymes in his mouthe: Theues onely complayne of pouertee, therby coueting to hyde theyr misgheuouse liuing.

¶ Finally no daie passed, wherin he dyd not some thynge charitably, gentilly, or honorablie, but those thinges he did in suche wise, as therin he neither consumed ne wasted the common treasure.

¶ He procured seldome any condemnacions, but those that were doen he neuer pardoned. The tributes or fee fermes of citees, he often tymes gaue to the reparyng and buildyng of the same citees.

¶ Moreouer to dyuers poore men, of whose vertue or wisedome he had perfecte knowlage, he lente of his treasure to purchase landes, receiuyng agayne his owne money, onely of the rentes of the same landes, and let the saied persons haue the possession and all other profites.

¶ He woulde not suffre any of his

courte to weare any garmente mixte with golde, or other wise precious or costly: nor be him selfe delited in riche apparaile, saiyng: Gouernaunce was in vertue, and not in beautie or costelie apparayle.

¶ At his table he vsed no golde but pure beryll and christall, and other lyke mattier to drinke in: he exceded not. 200. li. weight of siluer vessell in all his housholde.

¶ Precious stones that were geuen to hym, he caused to be solde, esteming it to be a womanly appetite to haue suche iewelles, which he nought neither geue to his souldiours, ne in hauyng theim finde any profite. Wherfore on a tyme whan an ambassadour had geuen to the empresse two orient perles of wonderfull greatnesse, he commaunded theim to be solde: And whan no man coulde be founde that woulde geue as muche as the price was estemed, least any euyl exaumple shoulde procede of the empresse, if she shoulde be seene to weare that thyng, whiche no man coulde bie, he caused theim to be hanged at the eares of the

imag

image of Venus: therby declarynge, that suche thynges either for the inestimable price was meter for goddes than for men: or for the vnprofitable beautie therof, serued onely for persons of wāton appetites, wherof Venus was goddesse and patronesse.

¶ No lesse temperaunce vsed he in meates and drinkes, neuer exceedyng foure sondry kyndes of flesh and fish at one meale, and those with a great moderacion and reason. He dranke wyne not scarcely, nor to muche, but competently.

¶ In feastes and banketting he neuer wolde haue any wanton pastime. His pleasure was to beholde byrdes fightyng together. And therfore he had in his gardeine, places, where birdes of sundry kyndes were inclosed and kepte, wherin he toke singular pleasure Notwithstandynge to the intente that he woulde in nothyng agrieue the market in feedyng theym with corne, he had seruauntes that prouided for thē egges of wilde foule and culuers.

¶ In honest recreacion he was mer-

mallouse mery and pleasaunte, amyable in communication, at the table so gentyll, that euery man mought demaunde of hym what he wouldе. And to the intent that he wouldе be the more circumspecte, he ordeygned the wyse man Vlpiane, one of the greatteſt interpretours of the lawe ciuill, to be in the ſtede of his tutour, his mother repugnyng thereat at the firſt, but after ſhe gaue hym therfore great praiſes.

¶ Whan he dined or ſupped abrode, he had euer with hym Vlpiane, or other well learned men, to thentent he wolde than heate hiſtories cõteinyng learnyng, wherwith he ſated, that he was both recreate and alſo fedde. If he ſatte priuily, he had a boke by hym and read therin oftentymes, but that was in Greke for the more parte. In open feaſtes he vſed the ſame ſimplicitee that he dyd in his palaice.

¶ He ſo much had flattery in hatred, that he wouldе not heare oratours or poetes ſpeake any thyng to his praiſe callyng it fooliſhneſſe: but he heard gladly oracions, perſwadyng to vertue,

tue, and also the actes of other good princes, as wel Romains as Grekes, spectally the praise of Alexander the great which conquered the more part of the worlde.

¶ He went oftentimes openly to the common schooles to here Rhetoricians and poetes, Grekes & Latines. He hearde also oratours reciting causes, which they had prosecuted either before hym, or before the great officers.

¶ Fynally he so muche esteemed and fauoured learnyng, that he ordeyned great salaries to be geuen to Rhetoricians, teachers of grammer, Phisicions, Astronomers, Geometricians, Musicians, deuisers of building and ingyns: And prouided for theym places to reade in, and scholars also, geuyng to poore and honest mennes children that herde theim, their commons free: with like charitee he reteined aduocates in poore mens causes. And suche lawyers as freely dyd helpe poore men with theyr counsaile and labour, he rewarded with corne and wine to maintein their housholde.

He also perely peruſed his lawes, and reſourmed theym accordyng as occaſion chaunced or happened: and he hym ſelfe diligently and rigorouſly executed theim in his owne perſon and ſeruauntes. And therwith was of ſuche gentilneſſe, that he woulde offer to geue place to the auncient ſenatours that came vnto hym. And would ſuffer no man of honeſtie, that preaſed to ſpeake with hym, to be repelled. He neuer did wronge to any perſon. Semblablie of wronges he was a vehement and ſharpe perſecutour, ſauing that in his owne wronge he was muche more tractable than in a ſtraungers. If he laie not with his wyfe, he was in the mornyng betyme in his priuie cloſet, where were ſette the image of Chriſte. Alſo the pictures of Abraham, Socrates, Apollonius, and other aunciente and vertuouſe men, where, by the ſpace of halfe an houre, he remayned in praiers. And for this deuocion and meruailouſe exaumple of liuyng, he was had of all men in wonderfull reuerence. All be it, his temperate and

ſobre

sobre liuyng, beyng thought of some men not agreable nor congruent to his maiestee, he was exhorted to aduaunce his astate, bothe in princely porte, and more sumptuouse maner of liuyng, leauyng his affabilitee and straight obseruacion of his lawes, as it shall appeare by letters folowyng, mutually written betwene hym and his counsailours.

¶ The letter of Gordiane the senatour to the emperour Alexander. Cap. vi.

THere was in the citee of Rome an honourable Senatour named Gordiane, who had sometyme been consull (whiche was the higheste dignitee next to themperour) and was the rycheste man of all the citee, hauyng the greatteste possessions in the coutryets adioygnyng, that any man had, the emperour onely excepte, and also was a man of excellent learnyng and wysedome: wherfore during the life of Heliogabalus, this Gordiane, hauing his monstrous life in abhominacion, and perceiuyng

the maiestee of the empyre to decaie by his negligent and dissolute liuyng, and that there was no hope of remedie. obseruyng the tyme, he by little and little withdrewe hym into suche places, as he had of his owne, farre from the citee, feignyng hym selfe to bee greeued with suche diseases as dyd debilitate his wittes, and therfore requyred to be farre from resorte of companie and muche noise, whiche beyng in the citee, he mought not eschewe. This excuse the emperour Heliogabalus hearde gladdelie, as he that feared and also hated the grauitee and auctoritee of Gordiane, and therfore licenced hym to departe and remaine in the countrey, as longe as it lyked hym, thinkynge by his absence to be more at libertee, and to liue more wantonly.

¶ So with the emperours fauour, or rather folie, Gordiane quietely and also pleasauntly passed the tyme, that Heliogabalus lyued. And whan he hearde of the deathe of that monster, he wolde not returne to the citee, but sent his consente of election to the se-

nate

nate, after he knew that by assent of the people, Alexander was named emperour. And whan he was required of the senate to come personally, he aggrauated his impediment, allegeyng sickenesse, although in deede, neither in body nor witte he was in any part diseased: but knowyng Alexander to be veray yonge, and also cousen germayne to Heliogabalus, he drad in hym both the one and the other, fearyng lest nature shoulde preuayle agaynst education, whan he should come to an absolute lybertee, and be out of the state of all correction. But soone after that Alexander was stablished in the empyre, & that his vertues were commended and published, Gordiane reioysyng therat, toke therof meruaillouse coumforte. All be it, for his native grauitee and stately courage, he lyked not the affabilitee and familiaritee that Alexander vsed, now beyng the chiefe prince and soueraigne gouernour of all the worlde: wherfore or he would make any accesse to his presence, he would proue his wisedome and vertue in ad-

mittyng his counsailes, wherfore he wrote in this wise vnto hym.

NOble and excellent prince, the fame of your aduancement vnto the gouernaunce of the empyre, was to me as it is vnto all the worlde, most ioyfull tidynges, considerynge the lamentable astate of our publike weale, with the certaine hope that all men haue in you, beyng meued with your vertues incomparable, whiche dayly more and more ye doe manyfest by your moste honourable example in liuing, declared to all that doe beholde, not onely your royall persone, but also your seruauntes and familiar companions. Amonge whiche vertues, your affabilitee and gentilnesse haue acquired no small praise amonge the people, as commonlie thei delite in swete countenaunce, and mildnesse of gouernours, wherin they truste to finde more libertee. But most noble prince, although for these qualities, ye deserue praise & loue of your subiectes, yet in the imperiall maiestee requyreth to be a more straunge countenance, and a selde and difficult

accesse

accesse vnto your person, consideryng that by the familiaritee of hym that is a maister or gouernour, as well euyll men as good, doe receiue boldenesse to speake, and they whiche be euyll, doe busily assaute hym, eyther with flattery, or with detractyng of other: wherby princes, although thei be of good natures, and well brought vp by theyr parentes, yet be they oftentymes transformed into monsters, that is to sate, into beastly lyuers or rauenous tyrannes. I omitte contempte, whiche induced by familiaritee, bryngeth the subiecte to disobedience. Let it not displease you, that I seme to haue in your highnesse any suspicion. Verily as a man that hath a fayre and honeste wyfe, wherby he is meued to loue hir entierly, wolde not haue hir gladly stande in the market place, and admit without discrepance euery man equally, and with lyke pleasaunte countenaunce, sucker euery man to speake to hyr what he listeth, although he knoweth hir to be vertuouse and constant: as well for the naturall shamefastnesse

Familiaritee in a prince.

faſtneſſe that oughte to be in a woman, may not admitte ſuche open reſorte and communication, as alſo the eares that be often aſſauted, can not euer eſcape, but be they neuer ſo well fortified with wiſedome, at the laſt lyke a caſtell wall, they beyng ſore ſhaken with many ſweete woordes and longe enterueu, they yeld at the laſte, yll cuſtome expellyng ſhamefaſtneſſe, and fynally all wyſedome beyng reiected, and nothyng ſet by. Semblably moſte excellent prince, your perſone is to the ſenate as deare as the wife to hyr houſbande, and for your fayre vertues we of good reaſon ought to be ſo ialouſe ouer you, that willyngly we ſhould not behold you fall into any cuſtome, whiche mought allure you into any ill diſpoſition, remembryng the late calamitee, that the citee and empyre were brought vnto by your moſte monſtruous predeceſſour Varius Heliogabalus. Wherfore like as now ye be to hym moſte contrarye ous in liuyng, ſo we deſyre to haue you reſiſt all occaſion, that mought geue neuer ſo litle a

path

pathe for flatterers, detractours, and promoters of vice, to entre into your counsayle or fauour. who can aduaunt him selfe to be well assured from this nette of hipocrisie, which hath (as I mought saie) sundry and diuers meisshes of flatterynges, which vnneth any man can escape, that wyll tarie vntyll the nette be cast ouer hym?

The remedie than is either with Maiestee to repell it, or to cutte it a sundre with sharpe rebukes: and that in the presence of other: or so greuously to persecute alwaie those hypocrites, I dooe meane flatterers, with open punishement, that all men maie knowe and abhorre theym. And that other therto by nature inclined, maie be euer afearde of lyke experiment. But the first way is most sure vndoubtedly. For rebuke and punishment cometh after the daunger, but maiestee precedeth: & therfore more profitteth. For suche persones rebuked or punished, perchance excusyng theym selfe that they doe it by to ardeut affection and desyre to please, or by their youth & lacke of experience, or recognisyng

Maiestee.

theyr

theyr folie, and promisyng amandement, may happen eftsoones to crepe into fauour, and than they woorke theyr nette so finely, that it can not so soone bee perceiued, and pitcheth it more couertly, appliyng it aptely to theyr maisters condicions, so that it shall be almost impossible for hym to escape, but that in one meishe or other he shall be tangled. Contrarywyse by Maiestee (that is to say, stately countenaunce and difficult accesse) ioygned with wisedome, impresseth suche reuerence, that men not onely doe feare to approache vnto theyr soueraygne lorde, vnlesse they be called, but also to speake any thyng, wherby thei being discouered, shuld lose their credence, hopyng neuer againe to recouer it, consideryng, that by maiestee and wisedome, the accesse to the prince is made impenetrable, sens to them that neuer offēded he is so harde and diffuse to be spoken vnto. Thus to your maiestee haue I shewed myne opinion, wherfore if by my counsayle ye dooe leaue your affabilitee, and familiare accesse, and imbrace grauitee and

tee and princelie astate, ye shall bee sauke from the perils that I haue remembred, and haue equalle honour with your predecessors, whiche wold not be seen of the people but seldome, and oftentymes with a courteine before theyr vilage, sittyng in theyr place of astate, whiche they toke of the Persians: for thynges seldome seene be most esteemed: and they that be frequent and often in eie, be little regarded, whiche as ye increace in age, and experience, ye shall fynde true, and to be writren of a faithfull counsailour, that desireth the increace of your vertue, with the publyke weale of our moste noble citee and empyre.

¶ The aunsweare of Alexander to the letters of Gordiane. Capitulo. vii.

VVhan the emperour Alexander had receiued and read the sayde letters of the senator Gordiane, he semed to reioice more therat, than at all the honours and titles that were geuen hym by the Senate and people

people, saiyng with a lowde voice: Yet there remaineth some hope in the publyke weale, that it shall not vtterly perish, sens we haue Gordiane the senatour left to assiste vs. And therwith he called for his tables, an immediately made to him aunswere, as hereafter ensueth.

GOrdiane honorable father, how muche better had the Senate and people of Rome prouyded for their publike weale, if thei had taken you to be their emperour, hauing regarde to your auncientee and excellent wisedome, where, in me they fynde nothyng but frayle youth, and lacke of experience. For onely detestacion of the negligence of my predecessour, with the desire that I haue to increase vertue, hath sowen of me suche opynion amonge the Senate and people, that not remembryng you (perchaunce for lacke of your presence) they haue enhabled me to this astate aboue my merites. Verily no man doubteth, but that ye beig borne in the citee of a righte auncient and noble house of the Romaines, as of

your

your fathers syde, issuyng from the honorable senatours called Gracch⁹, and by your mother descended from Traiane the emperour, mought with that grauitee and sternesse, whiche is in you, as it were by nature ingenerate, and amonge the people of Rome, aboue fortie yere in the principall dignitees experienced, moste honourablie haue mainteined the imperiall maiestee. Where I beyng borne a straunger, and my bloudde (althoughe it procebed of the noble hous of Metellus) beyng to the more parte of the Senate and people vnknowen, am constreygned to auale that maiestee, that in you shoulde be commendable: and in the steede of your grauitee and sadnesse, to vse towarde all men affabilitee, and suche forme of gentilnesse, whiche ye seeme in me rather to prohibite than to dispraise, lest that my noueltee shoulde ceasse to be pleasaunt vnto the people, if by my sharpenesse or straunge countenance I should seme to deceiue them in their opinion. Remembre you not, that the hault countenance and

the difficulte accesse, whiche was in Tarquine the last kyng of Romains, acquyred to hym that odiouse surname to be called Tarquine ꝑ proud: and although that he were bothe valiaunt in warres, and in garnishyng the citee verie industriouse, yet whan occasion and opportunitee happened of rebellion, the people being brought into furie, declared than how muche more they hated than feared hym, ne had hym for his noble actes in any estimacion or reuerence. Moreouer whan they had expelled hym out of the citee, to the entent they mought haue more familiar accesse vnto their gouernours, and finde in theim more affabilitee, from thensefoorthe vnto the tyme of Caius Cæsar, thei yeerely elected newe gouernours, callyng theim Consulles, as it were counsaillours: supposyng that in theyr tyme of auctoritee, the remembraunce that they shoulde be priuate persones the nexte yeere folowyng, shoulde cause theim to vse the people the more familiarely and also gentilly. And whan those officers, beeyng of longe

tyme

tyme chosen of the nobilitee onely, became in proceſſe of tyme haulte minded and ſterne towardes the communaltee, the people with longe ſedicion compelled the ſenate to ioigne at the laſt, with a nobie man in that office, one of theyr companie. Julius Cæſar with affabilitee, mettie, and gentilneſſe became ſo puiſſaunt, that neyther the Senates auctoritee, nor the proweſſe incomparable of the great Pompei, nor yet the inexpugnable armies prepared againſt him, had power to reſiſte hym. Yet ſhortly after that he had decreed, that no man ſhould approache hym, and became in his countenaunce and woordes more ſtately, he was ſlaine in the myddell of the citee by fiftie Senatours onely.

¶ The great Alexander beyng ſo familiare and gentill amonge his people, that he did not onely viſite homely theyr pauilions and halls, miniſtryng to theim all thyng that they lacked, but alſo ſuffred theim to come to hym boldely, and often tymes to ſpeke to him rudely: he drue the with

hym into the furthest partes of the worlde, into most baraine and daungerouse countreys: and by most gentill persuasions vainquisshed nature, whiche abhorred the tediouse iourneys, the trauailes intollerable, the venemouse styngynge of serpentes, the hunger and thyrst that sundrie times happened, and other incommoditees and incredible labours, whiche mought not withdrawe theim from folowyng theyr prince, so muche his most amiable gentilnesse subdued theyr appetites. But after that he, folowyng the kinges of Persia (whom ye seeme to praise in your letters) vsed a more pompouse estate than he was accustomed, and neyther would beholde or speake to his people familiarely, nor suffre theim to speake to hym freely, howe soone than chaunged they theyr copie: and as his affabilitee decayed, and pride increased: so theyr louyng affection towarde hym, in lyke wyse relented: whiche constreygned hym to omitte parte of his enterprise, and retourne vnto Babylon, where among

amonge his frendes at a banket, he was destroyed with poyson.

¶ The incomparable humanitee and gentilnesse of noble Germanicus (who shoulde haue succeded Tiberius in the empyre, if the treason of Piso hadde not frustrate the truste of the people) caused his sonne Caius, beyng yet in his cradell, to be so fauoured throughout the armie, that they hauyng hym, with his mother Agrippina among them, toke no lesse care for hym, than if he had been proper sonne to eueriche of theim: which loue in suche wise remained, that immediately nexte after Tyberius, they made hym emperour. Who in the beginnyng of his reigne, vsyng the humanitee of his noble father, gouerned the empyre quietely, as he that was mutuallouely beloued of the people. But whan to aduaunce his maiestee, he became straunge, counterfaityng his visage in a glasse into a terrible grauitee, coueryng to seme fearefull vnto the people, & whan he was openly seene, which was but seldome, he sitting in apparel al of gold,

laded with iewelles, compelled the se nate and people to worshyp hym as god, how soone after was his stately nesse tourned into mockery, & he be yng of all men abandoned, was lyke an horrible monster slaine and drawen through the citee?

¶ Consider the affabilitee and gen tilnesse of the noble Augustus, Titus the sonne of Uespacian, Nerua, Tra iane, Antonine called Pius, and Mar cus Aurelius, whom no man can de rogate of anie parte of honour and wisedome, and see wher ye may ther with compare any sturdy graultee, or haulte and straunge countenaunce of any other emperour or prynce.

Feare. Loue.

Certes Gordiane honourable father, he much erreth (in mine opinion) that preferreth feare before loue, without the which (witnesseth Socrates) no thyng either with god or with man maie dure or abyde. Feare depen deth on loue, and without loue it is soone had in contempte. Suppose not ye, that he was a wyse man that

Quem metuãt oderũt, & Quem

saied, When whom they feare they hate, and whom they hate, they wolde were de

stroied?

stroied? Wisedome causeth men to be honoured, liberalitee to be meruailed at, but gentilnesse and affabilitee onely to be hertily loued. Grauitee proceedeth of wisedome, and consisteth not in countenaunce, but is compacte of two vertues, Constance and Prudence. wherfore it can neuer be counterfaite, if the actes be well expended and tried. For where it lacketh the saied two vertues, it is either nicenesse and to be laughed at, or els pride outragiouse and to be abhorred and hated. But affabilitee can neuer be vicious, for though it be in one that lacketh discrecion, yet by libertee of speche, whiche increaceth therby, he shalbe so oftentymes warned, that he shall dekalcate that thyng that semeth superfluouse. Ne the accesse of flatterers or detractours, to him that mortally hateth theim, can bryng any damage. For he is to muche a foole, that will shew his brest naked vnto his enemie. And to him that is surely armed, it is no peryll though his ennemy assaute him, ye perchance if his enemie finde him inuincible, he

odiunt periſſe expetũt Ennius. Grauitee.

shall afterward be afeard to approche hym.

¶ Thus haue ye father Gordiane, not onely myne opinion herein, but also my determynate sentence, not therby dispraisyng your honourable grauitee, which for the cauſes that I haue reherſed, is in your perſon right laudable, but in me beyng not ſo well knowen in this citee among the Romains, which of theyr nature be fre, and were neuer in ſeruitude, it ſemeth not to be ſo expedient. Albeit if I reigned in Perſia, where the people frō the beginning haue ben beſt gouerned by tyranny, I woulde perchaunce otherwyſe do, changyng affabilitee into ſtraungeneſſe and ſtately countenance, which improperly (in mine opinion) ye in your letters haue named Maieſtee. Thus fare ye well, and haſte you to retourne vnto the ſenate, which with me deſireth the preſence of your excellent wiſedome.

¶ Soone after the emperour Alexander, beyng elected conſull, he ſolicited the ſenate and people to elecete alſo Gordiane into that office, affirmyng

that

that his youth required for the vtilitee of the publike weale, to be loigned with such a companion as Gordiane was, whose wisdome, experience, and grauitee, was of all men sufficiently knowen.

¶ The fyrst practise of Alexander in reduling of the empire vnto his pristinate honour. Capitulo. viii.

THe noble & prudēt lady Mammea, mother of the emperour Alexander, considerynge hir son to be now entred in to the most daungerous passage of youth, beyng but. xvi. yeres old, feared lest the excellency of his astate (as it oftentimes hapned to other) shulde incite hym to assaie thinges, whiche frayle nature thynketh delectable, and tasting ones of them, his tender youth mought not withstande the assautes & pleasaunt affections, wherby he mought eftesoones bring the empyre into ruine & infamy, and hym selfe and all his bloud to vtter destruction. Therfore she percetuyng hym to be obedient to hir exhortations, (in deede she was a woman of muche wysedome and holy-

holinesse, but that she was somewhat noted of couetyse) she, with good reason persuaded hym, that he could neuer wel stablishe his astate imperial, but onely by reducyng of the senate and people into their pristinate ordre, whiche coulde neuer bee brought to passe, excepte that fyrst his owne palaice were cleane purged of personages corrupted with vices, and into theyr places men of approued vertue and wysedome elected. And semblablie that to the example of the emperours owne householde, the sundrie dignitees and offices in the weale publike were aptely distributed: consideryng that the princes palaice is lyke a common fountaine or springe to his citee or countrey, wherby the people by the cleanesse therof be long preserued in honestie, or by the impurenesse therof, are with sundrie vices corrupted. And vntill the fountaine be purged, there can neuer be any sure hope of remedie.

Palaice of a prince.

¶ Wherfore Alexander immediately after that he had receiued of the Senate and people the name of Augustus,

ſtus, wherunto was annexed the entyre power and iuriſdiction imperiall, wherby he mought commaunde or prohibite what he thought moſte conuenient, tyll he diſcharged all miniſters, whiche the monſtruouſe beaſt Heliogabalus had vndiſcretely promoted of moſt vile and diſhoneſt perſonages, baniſhing alſo out of his palaice, all ſuche as he mought by any meanes know, to be perſons infamed: ſemblable flatterers, as well thoſe, which therfore were fauoured of his predeceſſour, as theim, whom he apprehended abuſyng hym with ſemblable falſehode. Accordyng to that example he reformed the whole ſenate and iudges, and alſo all other dignitees and offices in the publike weale. In lyke maner he purged his garriſons and men of warre, and corrected their libertees and priuileges, geuen vndiſcretely to them by other emperours, or by them miſuſed.

Moreouer, with all ſpeede conuenient, by the aduiſe of Vlpiane his tutour, Frontinus, and other the wyſeſt men of the Senate, he with all diſ-

diligence elected out of all partes of the empire, a conuenient and honorable company of wise and honorable counsaylours. This numbre were the most excellent lawiers, of whose sentences is made the texte of the law ciuile, gathered in the bokes named the Digestes. There was also Fabius Sabinus, surnamed Cato for his singular wisedome. Also Gordiane, of whom Iulate did write, a man of muche grauitee and nobleneſſe, whose sonne was afterwarde emperour. Moreouer there was Claudius Senatus, a noble and eloquente oratour. Also Catilius Seuerus, kinseman to the emperour, most excellently learned aboue al other. Serenianus a man of great perfection and grauitee, And Caius Marcellus, who was of suche vertue and goodneſſe, that neuer history remembred a better. These good and honorable personages, with many other not of muche leſſe estimacion, at all tymes and places attended vpon that noble emperour: of the whiche Vlpiane was in maner his chauncellour or keper of

per of the imperiall monumentes: And the emperour had hym for his chiefe counsaiour.

¶ In what fourme the emperour Alexander had his counsaile, which alway attended vpon his person. Capi. ix.

THe forme of Alexanders counsaile, was as hereafter ensueth. ¶ First all matters and causes riuile of great importance, he caused to be examined and brought in order by the great lawiers before rehersed, of whom Vlpiane was chiefe, & they made true report therof vnto hym. ¶ Moreouer he wolde neuer make decree or ordinance without .xx. lawiers substantially learned, and fyfty other experte and eloquent men, and that was done after this maner. Euery mans opinion and sentence was throughly and quietly herde without interruption or altercation. Therto were assigned .viii. secretaries or clerkes, men of quicke and substantiall memory, who in briefe notes or syphers, made for that purpose, wrate

euery

euery woorde that by those counsailours was spoken. Moreouer a competent tyme was geuen to euery counsailour to study and seke for such reason as he wolde purpose, to the intent they shoulde not speake vnadui-sedly in thynges of importaunce.

¶ It was also this emperours custome, that whan he treated of lawes and mattiers politike, he called therto learned men, and suche as were eloquent and well reasoned.

¶ If he commoned of mattiers touchyng warre and hostilitee, he called to him olde and experte capitaines, whiche had valiantly acquitted themselues in sundry battails. Also theim that were experte in the situacion of places, pitchyng of fieldes, and preparacion of campes. He wolde also here diuerse, whiche were perfectly and ripely instructed in histories, inserchyng by theim, what the emperours and princes, as well Romains as of other nacions before that time, had dooen in semblable causes, as were at that time in reasonyng.

¶ And after all theyr opinions and

sentences were written, by the secretaries (as is before mentioned) and that they conferryng together, had made therof one perfecte minute of euery mans saiyng, and deliuered it to the emperour, with as muche haste as was possible: Than he in a place secrete perusyng the minute, and assemblyng and ponderung the sentences thoroughly, after a competent tyme therin bestowed, eyther gatheryng of theim one perfect conclusion, or elles addyng to some thyng of his inuention, he finally opened his conceite among all his counsailours, whom he had before heard, notwithstandyng he gaue to theim libertee, either to allowe his sentence, or if any man had any thyng newly deuised, ekfoones to declare it. And that sentence whiche was of most wise men approued, that alwaie preuailed, and he therto consented, and caused it with all diligence to be put in experience. For he was of suche moderacion of mynde, that nothyng more pleased him, than to here any man with a substanciall and trew reason to confute his opinion;

nion: whiche caused him to bryng to passe thynges to be meruailed at. But now wyll I declare the oracion that he made in the Senate, after that he had sette in good order his owne proper householde.

¶ The oracion of Alexander to the Senate. Cap. f.

The inestimable maiestee of this empire (as ye well know honorable fathers) lyke as it toke begynnyng and increase of prowesse and politike wisdome, so by the same and lyke meanes it muste be conserued. Our moste noble progenitour and founder of this empyre, the valyaunt Romulus, beyng in his tender infancy, caste out of the palaice, and nourished among the poore herdmen, with susteigning much hunger, colde, and continuall trauayle, atchieued this littell portion of grounde, wherin now standeth the principall ruler and maistresse of all the worlde. To the ayde of his prowesse he added the quiete and vigilant study of rude sheepe-

sheepeheardes olde and decrepite, whose bodies beyng macerate with labours, and made feeble with age, although they mought nothyng profite in battayle, yet theyr wittes beyng confirmed by longe experience, and free from the vexation of wanton affections, they no lesse aduanced and sette foorth the enterprise of the couragiouse Romulus, than dyd the diligence and prowesse of his lustie souldiours. Neither his strength or courage, ne the wittes of his rude senatours became so excellent, as it semed at that tyme to be, by feedyng superfluously, by beastly idelnesse, or wanton pastymes, but onely by temperaunce in liuyng, vigilant prouidence, and continuall exercise: whereby strengthe is nourished, and wittes be increased: Lyke as by the other the strengthe of bodie is resolued, and the wittes be consumed or vnprofitably dispersed. And certes lyke as the tryste is proued to be true by the exaumple before declared, and many other succedynge that tyme: So the laste is semblablie verified

by late experience, and wherof the steppes yet doe remayne to our no lyttell griefe and displeasure: consideryng that therby this noble empyre is lyke to falle into extreeme ruine, and perpetuall infamie, vnlesse your moste excellent wisedomes wyll dyligently and constantly prepare your selfes to the certayne remedy agaynst this peryll intollerable, whiche remedy onely shall be the purgeyng and reformacion as well of this moste honourable companie of senatours, as of all other dignitees and estates in the weale publyke. In the whiche inquisicion we desyre none other prerogatiue, but that it maie take his fyrste beginnynge at our propre palayce and householde, and in our owne persone to be firste executed, to the intente that the principall fountayne, beyng founde cleane, the remnant of our subiectes, whose order of liuyng procedeth of our exaumple, as riuers and sundry lakes from a head spryngе, whiche is sette on a mountayne, maie with lyttell difficultee be more easily pourged. Nor other

estate

astate or preeminence wyll I require, but where youthe refuseth in me the most reuerende name of father of the countrey, whithe ye offered vnto me, yet condescendyng to parte of your gentyll requestes, I wyll gladly receyue the names and titles of protectour of the senate and tribune, or els if better doe lyke you, defender of the Romaine people. And on that behalfe I require you, for the approbacion of my sincere loue to the publike weale, that accordyng to the ancient and laudable custome of this noble citee, ye wyll cause to be chosen Censores or correctours of maners, suche personages as neuer were infamed with any vice notable, and whose lyues be inculpable, and therwith be sufficiently furnished with wisedome and grauitee, voyde also of all priuate affection, feare, auarice, and flatterie. Who lyke good surgeons, shall not forbeare with corrosiue and sharpe medicines, to drawe out the festred and stinkyng cores of olde marmolles and inueterate sores of the weale publike, ingendred by

the longe custome in vice. To the whiche remedie, as a necessarie minister, I shall put to my proper handes and assistence vnto the death. Leauyng remembraunce after me, that in makyng me your emperour, ye nothyng haue appayred of the imperyall maistee, but haue aduaunced it with the publyke weale of your citee. To the ratification of the whiche iudgement of you noble fathers, I shall applie holly my studie, trauaile, and diligence, callyng God to witnesse, that the Senate and people of Rome, shall sooner faile the publike weale, than I shall leaue any part of my duitie.

## How the correctours of maners, called Censores, were elected, and with what rigour thei executed theyr office by the commaundement of Alexander. Capi. xi.

THe saied oracion of themperour Alexander beynge finished, a wonderfull reioising entred into the herres of the senatours, which were

were vertuous and honorable, and beyng replenished with ioie, they all spake on high with one voice saiyng. Emperour Alexander, God euer preserue the. God sent the vnto vs. God euer defende the. God hath deliuered the from the vncleane Heliogabalus. God kepe the perpetually. Thou dydst longe tollerate that mischeuouse tyranne, thou doest lament his abhominable liuyng, and at the last god hath deliuered the and vs also of him, & so this hath brought ÿ. Lampridius.

¶ After these and many moe congratulacions made to the emperour, he geuyng to the senate condigne thankes, departed to his palaice. And shortly after there were chosen by the common consente of the Senate and people, foure Censors, two to remaine in the citee, and other two for Italie, and the prouinces vnder the name of latines: from whence were electe for the more parte Senatours, iudges, and other chiefe officers, whiche had iurisdiction and auctoritee to geue any sentence. The Censors for the citee were Fabius Sa- Martius Maximus.

binus, and Catilius Seuerus, men of excellent wisedome and grauitee: And for the prouinces were made Quintilius Marcellus, and Caius Manilius, men of auncient nobilitee and great seueritee.

Office of Censors. ¶ The office of Censors was to note the maners of euery person, whiche was in any degree of honour, that is to saie, aboue the astate of the common people, wherin was shewed suche rigour, that no man was spared, so that if a knight, a iudge, or a senatour had vsed any vnseemely thing, appairing or steiginge the estimacion of the degree, whiche he represented, it was in the auctoritee of the Censors to degrade or discharge him of his office or dignitee.

¶ Soone after the saide election, they made Alexander consull: Who with all diligence procured, that Aelius Gordianus, of whom I late spake, was made his companion in the Consulate, wherat some of the people grudged, fearyng least the sturdinesse and hault courage of Gordiane should change the incomparable gentilnesse of Alex-

of Alexander into crueltee and pride: but it succeded all other wise, for the wise emperour, by the exquisite grauitee of his companion, reformed to his nature, whiche was in wise mens opinion more easie, and simple than apperteigned to the imperiall estate, that by all mens iudgment he became in moderacion of vertues, of all other incomparable.

¶ The Censores immediately after that they were elected, vigilantly and sharpely executed theyr offices. For first they discharged out of the senate all suche, whiche by Heliogabalus, for theyr abhominable liuyng or flattery, were therto promoted.

¶ Semblably they pourged the order of knighthode, disgradynge all knightes, whiche were shameleſſe lechours, maintegners of theues, or they theym selues robbers. In lyke wise all those, which of baudes, ruffianes, carters, cookes, and other like reprocheable persons, were by Heliogabalus put in authoritee. The same industry they vsed in reformyng iudges, and other heade officers as well

in the citie, as about in the prouinces. Finally none astate or degree escaped theyr rebuke or correction. For the emperours palaice was exempt from theyr iurisdiction: In so muche as Aurelius Philippus, who was sometyme a bondeman, not withstandyng that he was manumised, and had ben the emperours schoolemaister, and after wrate his life, forasmuche as he dyd ryde in a chariote, and would be saluted as a Senatour, the Censors caused hym to be ladde to prison, and prohibited him for comyng to the emperours palaice, but onely on foote, and his copped cappe on his heade, which faction onely was vsed of them that were infranchised. And although for his good learning and honesty, some noble men aduised the emperour, that he shoulde requyre the Censors, that they should withdraw theyr rigour in correctyng Philippe, considerynge that he had ben sometime his schoolemaister: he nothing woulde dooe, to let or restreigne the sharpe correction of the Censors, but muche extollyng theyr constaunce, he

aunswe-

aunſwered: If the common weale maie haue euer ſuch officers, in ſhorte ſpace there ſhall bee founde in Rome moe men woorthy to be emperours, than I at my comyng founde good ſenatours.

And immediately he ordeined, that there ſhoulde neuer libertime, that is to ſaie, any man of a bonde ancetour, be of the Senate, ſaiyng: That the order of knighthode was the place, from whens were fetched the plantes of the Senate, that is to ſaie: from whenſe the ſenatours were elected. Notwithſtandyng he pourchaſed a goodly mancion, with ſufficient reuenues, not farre from Rome, whiche he gaue to the ſayde Philippe, ſaiyng to hym: Before I was emperour, I diſdeigned not to folow thy doctrine: Now be thou as well contented, for the increace of myne honor and of the weale publike, to obeie to myne ordinaunce. And although the maieſtee of the citee maie not permitte the to be openly receiued in the noumbre of our familiars, yet priuy reſorte ſhall approue our fauor towardes the, not loſte, but increaſed.

¶ Of such meruailous seuerite was this emperour, that no kynde of affection or priuate appetite moughte reflect him from the sharpe execution of his lawes or lawdable customes of the citee, as more yet shall appeare in the chapiter folowyng.

¶ Of the great prudence of Alexander vsed in the election of his counsaillours and officers. Capitulo. xii.

It oftentymes happeth, that where god doth ornate a prince with naturall giftes and also great vnderstandyng and sharpenesse of witte, he for lacke of election (whiche is a great parte of prudence) hauyng about him counsaillours, companions, and officers vnmete or vnworthy, maketh the sayd ornamentes vnprofitable, or peraduenture incommodious to the weale publyke, whereof he hath gouernaunce, whereby the renoume, whiche were condigne, and as it were incidente to rare and excellent qualitees, is lost and dieth with the body, or els (whiche is much worse)

is tour-

is tourned to perpetuall reproache and dishonour: which the emperour Alexander circumspectely consydering, he with an incomparable study prepared for hym selfe certayne rules of election, as hereafter foloweth.

¶ Firste he determined to loue all, that was vertue, and to hate all, that was vice, in what person so euer the one or the other shoulde happen. Rules whereby a prince shoulde eleete counsayllours.

¶ Also what so euer pleasure or commoditee mought come to hym by embracyng or tolleratyng of any notable vyce, he woulde rather lacke it, thoughe it were to his detrimente, than to bee seene to chaunge his opinion, leaste any man shoulde therby take occasion to commende vice.

¶ And for as muche as vnder his empire were diuerse and sundry nations, whereof also the people by naturall disposicion be diuersely inclined to vertue or vice, he therfore applied hym selfe to knowe the sundry wittes, maners, affectes, and studies of men, borne in euery region countrey & notable citee, throughout the world: which knowlage he apprehended so

ded so exquisitely, as well by studious readyng of many histories and other notable woorkes of morall philosophie, as by diligent examining of captaines, and merchauntes, which had trauailed and ben in sundry countreys: wherby he was wonderfully holpen in his elections and iudgementes, as it shall hereafter appeare.

¶ He woulde neuer accepte commendacion of any person, before he hymselfe had spoken with hym, and that by secrete scrutinie he had been truely informed of hym. And yet the commendacion that he woulde afterwarde here, shoulde be a parte, none other man hearyng, but hym selfe, lest if many were presente, and he that commended were in auctoritee, other hearers although they knew the contrarie, shoulde either affyrme a faulse commendacion, or elles feare to saie trueth, yf they shoulde be therof demaunded.

¶ In theym that were counsaillours, he vtterly abhorred ambycion and flattery. In iudges, he hated with extreme detestacion couetise and wrath.

In

In bothe the one and the other he loued Sincerite, vulgarely called vprightneſſe. Sincerite.

¶The perfecte knowlage of mens condicions he had not by the repoꝛte of theyꝛ ſuperiours oꝛ equalles, ne by theym which dwelled farre from the habitacion of thoſe whom thei praiſed, but by the examinacion of theyꝛ nigheſt neighbours, being men of honeſtie, and not theyꝛ ennemies. And that was practiſed by ſuche of his owne yeomen as were moſt auncient and ſage: whiche findyng occaſion to ride through the countreys, where they were neither borne noꝛ had poſſeſſions, ſhoulde make this diligent ſcrutinie oꝛ ſercbe. And to ſuche maner of perſones the common people woulde moꝛe familiarely and plainely declare theyꝛ opinions, than to gentilmen oꝛ men in auctoꝛitee. But if themperour perceiued afterwarde, that he had been vntruely informed by any of his ſayde eſpialles (whiche ſometymes he dyd by further experience, as beeynge in his pꝛogreſſe, oꝛ hym ſelfe hearyng and diſcuſſynge

complaintes of the common people openly and with a great deliberacion and grauitee (he than extremelie, and without hope of remission, punished the false reporters, were it in praise or detraction: causynge theyr tounges to be perced through with a hotte brennyng yron, and to be banished his courte and presence for euer. Whiche punishement, although it wyll seeme to some men sore and cruell: yet considerynge (that vsyng this meane) he was neuer deceyued by counsailours, and also that Justice was duely executed by theym that were in auctoritee, that maner of rigouamate be thought necessarie and very expident. also the punishment beyng in a fewe execute at the beginnyng, the seueritee of the prince became so terrible, that men so greeuously feared hym, that neyther desyre, rewarde, nor dread of any other man coulde let the saied espialles to reporte truely, according as they had founden by theyr diligent scrutinie.

¶ One meruailouse cautell he vsed, that is to saie: One man was not of-

tentis

tentymes in that truste of espial.
And those personages were chosen and appoynted onely by hym selfe, without makyng any other man priuie, vntill he had deprehended theim with some maner of falsehode.
¶ Finally he was of such a wonderfull discrecion and sobrenesse, that no reporte coulde bringe hym out of patience, or into suspicion, vntill he had well tried the reporte with some prattie experiente, as it shall be declared hereafter.
¶ And thus I make an ende of the fyrst parte of his gouernaunce, which was in orderyng of his owne persone and courte: whereby principally he brought not onely the citee of Rome, but also all the whole empyre (not withstandynge the beastely lycence brought in by Heliogabalus) in as good estate as euer it was in the time of any of his moste noble progenitours.

How

¶ How extremely Alexander hated extorcioners and bribours, and how muche he fauoured them that were vertuouse. Capitulo. xiii.

The emperour Alexander hadde suche indignacion towardes them that were extorcioners or bribours, that if by chaunce he espied any of them, he was therwith so greued, that he immediately wolde vomit vp colar, and his kate beyng as it were on a fiet of a longe time moughte not speake one worde.

¶ On a tyme one Septimius Arabinus, who in the tyme of Heliogabalus was a famouse bribour, came in the company of Senatours, to salute the emperour Alexander, who beholdyng hym, saied with a loude voyce: O lorde god, beholde, Arabinus not onely liueth, but also presumeth to be in the senate. Peraduenture he trusteth in me, iudgeyng me to be an ignorant and foolish emperour.

¶ Moreouer he ordeined, that where there wer founden any extorcioners, or bribours, that thei shuld be openly examined

examined and iudged, and by the gouernours of countreies sente into exile.

¶ Whan he was in his progresse, suche as were gouernours or Iustices in prouinces, whom he heard worthily commended without sinister affection, he wolde in his iourney take them into his horslitter, communing with theim of the state of their countrey, and honouryng theim with rewardes, saiyng: That lyke as extorcioners and bribours are to be impouerissed: so good men and iuste are to be enriched.

¶ In hearyng the complaintes of his souldiours agaynst theyr capitaines, yf he founde any capitayne faulty in that thyng, wherof he was accused: foorthwith he caused hym to be punished after the qualitee of his offence, without any hope of remission. Semblably dyd he to his souldiours and seruauntes. For where they iniustely greeued any person, he corrected theym sharpely, and with a meruailouse austeritee.

¶ To one of his secretaries, whiche forged an vntrue bil in his counsayle,

he commanded the sinues of his fingers, wherewith he did write, to be cutte, and so to be vtterly banished. wherfore he was called Seuerus, whiche is as muche to saie, as sharpe or rigorous: for Seueritee is rigour in punishement, accordyng to the qualitee of the offence, hauyng respecte to a good purpose, without any desyre of vengeaunce. And it is that parte of iustice, that consisteth in execution: the commendacion wherof shall appeare in the nexte chapiter.

¶ A notable example geuen by Alexander in reprouyng an ambicious and vaineglorious counsailour Capi. xiiii.

I Suppose it shall not bee tedious to good men to heare one incomparable example of the seueritee of this meruailous emperour, which although it shall seme to many that shall here it, to be ouer vehement and greeuous, yet in readyng the chapiter next folowyeg, it shalbe sufficiently declared by the wordes of the same emperour, that his saide rigour

gour in iudgement was necessarily vsed, and with equalitee in iustice, deseruyng in no part to be repreeued.
But now wil I reherse the said story.
¶ There was about the saide emperour a man of great honour, called Petronius Turinus, whome for his great witte and sageneſſe in apparaunce, the Emperour had in singular fauour, in so muche as he called hym to his priuie counsaile, and vsed to bee with hym more familiare than he was commonly with any other: whiche so much blynded the inward eie of Turinus, that he coulde not see in hym selfe, whiche he not longe before had condemned in other, suche incomparable sweeteneſſe is founden in the familiare companie of princes. wherfore like as whan the companions and seruauntes of Ulisses had eaten abundantly of the herbe called Lotos, the taſte therof was so pleasaunt and meruailouſe, that all that eate therof, forgettyng their owne proper countrey, coueted to remaigne still in that region, where that herbe grewe: and but onely by violence

they coulde not be brought to theyr shippes, to retourne to theyr propre houses: semblable Turinus, after he had been with the emperour in an inwarde and secrete familiaritee, he founde it so pleasaunte, that forgettyng from whens he was called, and takyng littell heede of any other part of his office, he put his whole studie and delectacion to augmente the opinion of men, that thoughte that the emperour woulde nothyng doue without his aduise, wherby he shuld bee magnified and honoured aboue all other of the emperours counsailours. And therfore he had continuall suite made vnto hym, as well by theim that had suites to the Emperour in theyr particular causes, as others that loked for offices or great promocions. To euery man a parte he woulde promise his fauour, and therefore receiued great rewardes and presentes, but finally whom he knewe that the emperour had preferred in office, or any thynge determined in his iuste cause. (For that mought he knowe, beyuge with the

emperour so secrete, although the good emperour dyd nothynge by his perswasion onely: but by prudente aduyse and good delyberacion, as it shall hereafter appeare) on hym woulde he becke, if he were in the chaumber. And oftentymes in a daie he wolde come from the emperour into the chaumber of presence, or place, where suiters awaited, and of whom he had receiued money, to them would he saie, that he had remembred them, and in their requeste or mattier receiued good comforte, whan in deede he spake not therof one woorde.

¶Finally by the colour of this familiar and secrete recourse, that he had to the emperour, he gathered muche treasure: but at the laste diuers, and in great numbre, to whom he had promised, that thing that they sued for, notwithstanding they receiued nothing in conclusion but noddes with the head, founde theym selfes deceiued, and their great summes of money vainely employed: wherat they murmured, and partely meued with disdeigne, partely with pouer-

tee, they braſt foorth at the laſte into manifeſt grudgeyng: whiche came to the emperours eare, by what meanes I knowe not, but ſuche abuſes can not be longe hidde from princes, that haue theyr eares perforate (as is the prouerbe.) Whiche the emperour hearyng, was mened with meruayloufe diſpleaſure, conſiderynge that Turinus, whom he had in ſo great eſtimacion, abuſyng his perſone in feygning him to be his pupill or ſeruant, had ſolde his determinacions and ſentences, wherby he had defamed his Maiceſtee, in that that Turinus had brought men in beleefe, that the emperour dyd nothynge (but as it were) at his onely becke and commaundement. Whiche opinion to redreſſe he vſed this policie.

He cauſed one to deſire a thinge of hym openly, and afterwarde to ſue to Turinus priuilie to helpe him in his demaunde, and ſecretely to meue the emperour for hym: whiche beynge dooen, and that Turinus had promiſed his good wyll to hym that ſued, and ſoone after ſayng, that he had ſomawhat

what meued the emperour therein, where in deede he spake not therof any one worde, and that he abode an aunswere therof: wherupon he receiued of the sayde suter a great summe of money, whiche the emperour knowyng, caused hym to call eftsoones on Turinus: but he as if he had in hande other businesse, onely beckened on hym without speakyng any thynge to hym, for in deede the emperour had geuen to an other that thynge, whiche this man sued for, whiche grudgeyng therat, discouered openly what Turinus had of hym receiued: that knowyng the emperour, he caused Turinus immediately to bee arrested, and openly in his presence to be accused: whiche was done by a great numbre, whom he had also deceiued, takyng of them great summes of money for offices, and other thynges, whiche they neuer obteigned. Wherefore after Turinus was condemned by sufficiente and credible witnesse, in whose presence he had receiued this bryberie, and in whose hearyng he had effectually promised:

he was iudged by the emperour, to be ladde into the open market place, where moste resorte was of the people, and there beeyng bounden to a stake, with smoke madeof greene sticks and wette stubbell, to be smouldred to death. And duryng the time of his execucion, the emperour commaunded a beedill to crie, With fume shall he die, that fumes hath solde: But to thentent men shulde not thynke, that for one offence the iudgemente was to cruell and rigorous, ere euer Turinus was condemned to die, the emperour made diligent serche, and by euident prouffes it was founden, that Turinus had often and in many causes receiued money of bothe partes, promisyng to aduaunce theyr cause to the emperour. Moreouer to proue the seueritee of this emperour laudable, it shalbe declared in the chapiter next folowyng.

The

¶ The consultacion concernyng the punishment of Turinus, and the excellent reason of the emperour Alexander. Capitulo. xv.

IN the meane time that Turinus was accused, and before his condemnacion, the emperour Alexander accordynge to his customable vsage, gaue conuenient time to his counsailours to deliberate by them selfes, er euer that they gaue any sentence, what punishment shoulde be equall to the offence of Turinus, and necessary for an example to other, that they presumed not to doe the semblable. After whan the counsayle was called, euery man was commaunded to declare his opinion: Some reasoned, that the open rebuke with sufficiente satisfaction vnto the partie, shoulde be a conuenient punishment: Other addid to imprisonment, for a certayne time: diuers wolde that he shoulde be banished farre from the court, many affirmed with vehement argumentes, that he deserued to be

beheaded, consideryng, that in abusyng the emperours maiestee, in sellyng great offices to persons vnworthy, he had put the publyke weale in no littell hasarde. The emperour aduisedly hearyng al theyr opinions, laste of all (as it was his maner) reasoned in this wise, as hereafter followeth. My trusty and well beloued counsaillours, we haue hitherto attentifely herde and throughly considered your wyse and honourable sentenses, declared with free and vncorrupted myndes, although by the diuersitee of your naturall inclinacions, your sundry reasons seeme to haue no littell diuersitee, as it happeneth in all consultacions, wherin diuerse men dooe shew their conceiptes freely without feare of blame, as I doubt not but ye doe. Notwithstandyng for as muche as hearyng all your opinions and reasons, I haue my wit the better instructed to fynde out and declare (excepte I bee deceiued) what shoulde be the moste expediente and necessary punishment of Turinus, for the offences whiche he hath

hath committed, wherin ought to be no lesse seuerities (as I wyll proue with good reason) than if he had attempted to haue slayne me, or to brenne this moste noble citee of Rome, the honourable mancion of goddes, and common refuge of all the worlde.

¶ Firste ye remember, that ye chase me to be your gouernour, not onely for the nobilitee of my progenitours, ne for theyr images or monumentes of thankefull remembraunce, yea rather for the beastely and moste abhominable lyfe of Heliogabalus, my cousen germayne, ye had more cause to refuse me: neyther ye made me your emperour and prince for the goodlynesse of my person, or prowesse shewed by me in your warres: I beyng yet for tenderneesse of age vneth able to dooe feates of armes, muche lesse to leade an army, specially suche one as perteigneth to this noble empire. But truly it was for the good estimacion and hope that ye had in the towardnesse of mine education & nature, thinkyng it to be aptly disposed to vertue,

to vertue, wherin beyng brought vp in childhode, I ought to haue alway about me, suche as be of like disposicion: and by theyr assistence and counsaile, to moderate and rule the publike weale of this citee. It ought therfore to be kept in remembraunce, that as I haue saied, by the good opinion and hope that all men haue conceiued of me, this publike weale, which beyng subuerted, I founde as none, I haue reedified (and be it spoken without boste) almoste made newe from the foundacion.

¶ Than if he that inforceth him selfe to brenne the houses, or to beate downe the walles of the citee, by good iustice and reason shoulde suffre death: by a muche greater reason oughte Turinus to die, that hath endeuoured him selfe to subuert and destroy that, whereby the publike weale as well was begunne, as is also preserued, considering that the publike weale in estimacion is to bee preferred before the materiall citee, as muche as the lyfe of a man and renoume of vertue be of more value than stone or timbre,

where

wherwith the walles and houses be builded. And therfore Aristotle, in definyng, what is a Citee, doeth not call it a place builded with houses, and enuironed with wals, but saieth, that it is a companie, which hath sufficiencie of liuyng, and is constitute or assembled to the entent to liue welt. Wherfore it is the people & the weale of them, that maketh the citee. And the destruction and subuersiō therof, ought with more rigour and vehement punisshemente to bee reuenged, if more sharpe punisshemente maie bee than deathe, than brennyng and beatyng downe of materiall houses or wals. ¶ This well and deepely considered, it shall not be thought, that thei, that haue reasoned for the mitigacion of Turinus punishment, had before in remembraunce, and sufficiently examined, the greeuousenesse of his offence, accordyng as I haue declared it, but onely considered his bare acte without any circumstaunce. But yet the treason doeth also to me, aggreeueth the trespasse. Is it not treason, to conspyre the destruction Citee.

of thy

of thy soueraigne lorde: most of all, of whom thou art entirely fauoured, and put in great trust: Is there any dyuersitee betweene the stickynge of hym with a daggar, or kyllynge hym with poyson, and by some circumstance to cause his people to rebel against him, and in theyr furie to slee hym: Who comparyng to gether the fourme and maner of these offences, wyll not suppose it reason, that the punishementes therfore should be muche more vehemente and sharpe, than for any other transgressiō, sence Iustice limitteth equall punishement in proporcion, accordynge to the importaunce, that is to saie: The greatnesse or smalnesse of the offences.

Now leat vs consider the qualitie or substance of Tyrinus misdemeanour. In the tyme of the emperour Seuerus and Caracalla, he was in small estimacion: but after I was elect emperour, he craftily smellyng out my disposicion, by littell and littell acquainted him selfe with some of those of whom for theyr vertues I had best opinion, and counterfeictyng theyr

manerS

maners, he at the laste so aptely set forth suche grauitee, whiche he adorned also with a wonderfull sharpenesse and promptitude of witte, that he obteigned to bee highly recommended vnto me by the wysest men of my counsayle: by whose aduise first I made hym one of my treasourers. Finally I called hym nere me, and made hym of my priuie counsayle, wherein we founde hym so necessarie, that in our opinion his sentences were equiualent, and sometyme surmounted theym that hadde been in moste estimacion. And to the entent that he woulde augment that opinion and credence, that we had in hym, he euer vsed a great seueritee or straightnesse in his sentences agaynst flatterers, dissemblers, and persons corrupted, namely suche as solde theyr endeuour or diligence in obteinyng our fauour in any matter, or for any office. And by his industrie diuerse were detected vnto me, and punished accordyng to theyr merites. For these causes I more and more toke him in fauor, and to incourage o-

ther to ensue his exaumple, I did aduaunce him as ye know, to the highest dignitees within the citee, except the consull, and haue participate with him our moste priuy secretes, vsyng hym so familiarly, that diuerse other of our counsaillours haue partely disdeigned. Now behold what he hath done. First he hath deceiued and mocked vs with his hypocrisie, abusyng our simplicitee, and winnyng our fauour, and not our fauour onely, but also our credence and trust, whereby he mought finally woorke to his priuate commoditee, and to our confusion. For he beyng with vs in suche familiaritee as none other was, he practised those thynges that we moste abhorred, that is to say extorcion, sellyng of right and wrong, & merchandisyng of offices and dignities. To whom is extorcion or bribes not greuouse? although the geuer receiueth great lucre. Is there any thyng to be more abhorred than sellyng of Iustice, whiche knoweth no rewarder? Howe muche more intollerable is the selling of iniustice or wronge, wherby

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the one parte ſuffreth damage by ſuſteigning of wrong, the other is more indamaged by leeſyng of his good name and alſo his money, if it happen, as it hath dooen oftentymes, by a good and rightuouſe gouernour, that he whiche hath dooen wronge, be compelled to make reſtitucion.

But principally and aboue all other am I moſt indamaged. For I vnwares and innocent beyng brought into the hatred of men, ſhould be deſtroyed before that I mought knowe that I were in perill. Now conſider ye the importaunce of Turinus offence, conferrynge it with all that, whiche I haue reherſed, and by the waie remembre, that not onely he that ſleath his prince, or depopulateth his countrey, and maketh it deſolate, but alſo he that conſpyreth to doe it, and therto endeuoureth him ſelfe with all his puiſſaunce, though he be let by ſome occaſion or ſtudie, deſerueth to die by the determinacion of Juſtice diſtributiue. By what meane he would doe it, it is not materiall: excepte peraduenture ſome man mought ſuppoſe, Juſtice diſtributiue.

that the acte were more odiouse of him that procured the people to destroie their owne prince or countrey, whom they are bounde by allegeance and ductie with all theyr power to defende, than of him that doeth solicite strangers or auncient enemies, to inuade his countrey.

¶ Finally if any common person, neuer receiuynge of me any benefite, wolde reporte in the eares of the people, that I went about to change the state of the weale publike of this noble citee, to slea all the senatours, to withdraw the people from their auncient libertees and finally to bringe the maiestee of the empire into a tyranny, and by suche false informacion exciteth and stireth the senate and people to hate me, and couet my destruction: suche one proued at the laste to haue saide falsely, I beleue ye woulde not thinke onely woorthy to die, but ye woulde with your owne handes dismembre hym, and plucke him in pieces. Why shoulde you not than thinke, that Turinus, whom I moste fauoured, and was about me

moste

moste secrete, not by reportyng euill of me, (whiche perthaunce woulde not be beleued) but by actuall deedes and openly committyng in iustyce, and tyrannie, in maintenyng, supportyng, and comfortyng wronges, extorcions, oppressions, and other enormities against the weale publike: also aduauncyng euill and vngracious personages to dignitees and offices, wherby Justice ought to be ministred, and the publike weale gouerned, and by these meanes quenchyng the good opinion and loue that all men had toward me, and changeyng it to a feruent grutche and hatred, they thinkyng that Turnus dyd all thyng by our appointment, stire the hertes of the people against me: why should ye not I saie, thinke that suche one hath deserued to die? And as he was with vs in singular fauour and truste, and therin lyke to none other: so ought his death to be singular and straunge, that by the noueltee therof it maie be more terrible, wherby other maie feare from hensefoorth to abuse in suche maner our affabilitee,

whiche beyng in vs naturall, without suche a munition can not bee sure and safely preserued. And for this our sentence no man oughte to deeme vs cruell, or to lacke mercie, if he consider diligently all that we haue spoken. And dooe also remembre, that to kepe an infinite noumbre of men from the rigour of Iustice, I spare not to execute the same rigour on hym, whom, I specially fauoured

¶ After that the emperour had concluded in this wise his reason, there was no man offred to replie thereto, perceiuyng him rather meeued with zeale than with any particular displeasure: and to say the trueth, whan they had pondered his considerations, not findyng sufficient argument to confounde his opinion, finally thei all beyng in noumbre fiftie wyse and honourable counsailours, reioyced, that they had so wise and vertuouse an emperour, whiche preferred Iustice, and the weale of his people, before any priuate affection or singular appetite. Than immediately followed the execution of Turinus, whiche

Sinceritee.

was

was appoincted by the emperour, in fourme as ye heardе it declared in the laste chapiter.

## ¶ How Alexander instructed and enterteis gned theim that were officers, and of his liberalitee towarde theim that dyd well their duities. Ca. xvi.

NOtwithstandyng the seueritee of this noble emperour in the sharpe punishmente of oppressions, extorcions, and other offences of semblable importaunce: yet was he toward suche as iustly executed their offices, for the publike weale, verate fauourable, gentill and bounteouse. For if any of theim had peraduenture at the beginnyng or firste entre into his roume or auctoritee, vsed lesse diligence, or omitted some thing that he ought to haue dooen, either for lacke of experience, or hauyng not therein sufficient instruction, forseene alwaie that he did nothyng by corrupcion or vicious affection: the emperour callyng suche one to hym priuily and apart from all other. Fyrst he wolde

remembre hym for what cause he had called hym to that roume or auctoritee, the importance or charge wherof he woulde also declare, and than wolde he somewhat commende hym for his honestie and temperaunce, wherwith he wolde confesse hym selfe to be satisfied, accordyng to his expectation: Than sadlie and with a wonderfull grauitee, he woulde admoneste or warne hym of his lacke in diligẽce or in omission, shewing what damage the publyke weale moughte susteine, by lacke of his circumspection, and without that, theyr vertues shoulde be vnprofitable to theyr office or dignitee. After wolde he exhorte and require them with gentill countenaunce and woordes, to vse more studie and trauaile aboute the affaires of the weale publyke, committed vnto theym, promisyng to theim for their good endeuour, his assistence and fauour with honeste recompence in the ende of theyr trauailes.

¶ Moreouer although he were thus industrious in espiyng out the demeanour of euerie man in his office, yet

wolde

woulde he not suffre any other person to rebuke or to scorne theym, saying, That where any obedience is due, thense ought to be excluded all rebukyng or mockyng, considerynge that therof ensueth contempt, whiche lyke a pestilence consumeth all lawes and auctoritee: And that he and the senate were iudges of the duities of theim that be in auctoritee. Also he used to saie oftentimes: That it happeneth sometyme, that thei, whiche be slacke in their duities at the beginnyng, after they haue been monished therof, either by theyr frendes, or by the goodnesse of their propre wittes, they haue been industriouse and diligent. Contrariwyse other, whiche at the first haue been quicke, with a meruailouse dexteritee and promptnesse, they haue by little and litle relented, and hauing gathered good estimacion & abundance of substaunce, haue withdrawen theim selues from peineful affaires, & at the last be to no man but onely to thē selues profitable. ¶ When any man had exercised his office duly, vprightly, & circumspectly

in the publike weale, at the ende of his terme, whan there was a succes-sour vnto hym beyng present appoin-cted, than woulde he sate vnto hym that departed out of his office: The publike weale geueth to you right hertie thankes. than woulde he rewarde hym in suche wise, as beyng priuate, he mought accordyng to his degree, lyue the more honestly.

This rewarde was in lande, cattle, horses, graine, yron, stone and other thynges necessarie to builde a com-modious place, wherein after great trauaile about the weale publike, he mought refreshe bothe his body and spirites. And euer after the empe-rour had hym in moste tendre famili-aritee.

The emperours diligence in knowyng mens qualities.

Merely in one thyng he vsed an in-comparable diligence, wherin he sur-mounted in myne opinion all other emperours. There was no man in dignitee or office, either by the as-signement of the senate, or by his commmission, but that he knewe his persone, and fourme of liuyng. And that muche more is, he had in his chaum-

chaumbre billes conteinyng the numbre of theim, whiche were his souldiours in wages, and also euery one of theyr names, and what tyme they had serued. And whan he was by hym selfe quiete from great affaires, he perused the number of theim, their dignitees, wages and fees, to the intent he woulde be for all occasions surely prouided. And therfore whan he had any thynge to doo with his souldiours, he named euery man in his communicacion: And whan they were presente, he called theym vnto hym. And whan he was solicited to promote any person, he marked his name, and than wolde he serche his bokes of remembrance, wherin were the names of theim that had serued him, with the tyme of theyr seruice. Also theyr rewarde or promocion, and at wose requeste, or by whose solicitacion they were promoted.

¶ In offices he seldome suffred to be any deputies, saiyng, They onely ſhould be aduaunced, whiche by theim selues and not by deputies coulde order the publyke weale. Addynge therto: that men of

warre had their ministrations, and learned men theirs, and accordyng therunto shuld roumes be disposed, that euery man shuld doe that thyng, wherof he had most knowlage. He had therfore written, what he had geuen, and that remembryng, if he founde any man, to whom he had either geuen nothyng, or that whiche in value was not equall vnto his merites: he called hym, and said: what is the cause that thou askest nothyng of me? Desirest thou to haue me thy debtour? Aske somewhat, that lackyng promocion, thou complaine not of me.

¶ He gaue alwaie suche thynge as impaired not his honour, as goodes of men atteinted, not beyng in golde or siluer: for that was alwaie put in the common treasourie.

¶ Also he gaue bailiwikes and rules of places ciuile, but neuer of war, excepte it were to theim, whiche were expert and approued true capitaines.

¶ Receiuours he changed euery yere, and called theim an euill that needes must be suffred.

¶ As for chiefe iudges, proconsules, or lieue-

or lieuetenauntes, he gaue none of those roumes in rewarde, but by a deliberate iudgement either of him selfe or of the senate. Suche was the wonderfull, and (as I mought saie) most curious circumspection of this excellent prince Alexander, whiche in mine opinion can not be by mans tounge sufficiently extolled.

## How curious the emperour Alexander was in assignyng of iustices in his lawes, and how he vsed liberalitee or sharpenesse towardes them accordyng to their merites. Ca. xvii.

Suche persons as he assigned to bee iudges in causes ciuile, he with good deliberacion & proufe, did choose theim, whiche were beste lerned in the lawes, and were of muche auncientee, and therwith hauing good grauitee, and were knowen to be sincere and of good conscience: and vnto theim was appointed an honorable stipende: In so muche as to them that were iudges in prouinces, was geuen to euery of theym twentie

Ric-

Pondo conteigneth of our vsuall grotes. 125. so the stipende amounted to. xli li. xiii. s iiii d. of our money.

Romayne poundes of siluer, fiue siluer potres, two mules, two mulettes, two horses, a horsekeper and a muletour, two robes or habites to sitte in iudgement, one honourable garment to weare in his house: one for his baine or studie: Also a hundred pieces of golde: Moreouer one cooke, and if thei were vnmaried, one concubine. And after that they had lefte their administracion, thei should yelde againe the mules, mulettes, horses, muletours, and cookes, which all the said time were found of the common treasure, the residue thei shoulde reteigne still, if they had dooen well in their office: And if they had dooen euill, they shuld paie the quatreple or foure tymes so muche as they receiued.

The neuer woulde suffer, that anie office, whiche had iurisdiction or execucion of Iustice, shoulde be solde or obteigned by geuyng of money, or any other rewarde. And therfore where one of his most priuie seruauntes had promised to one, to obteine of the emperour for hym an office, whiche had ciuile iurisdiction or administracion

nistracion of Justice, and therfore had taken a hundred pieces of golde, The emperour commanded, that he shuld be hanged on a galouse openly in the highe waie, wher in the emperours seruauntes shoulde moste often passe to his manours, without the citee. And whan Ulpiane, one of the sage men of his counsaile blamed his sentence, as cruell and representyng a tyrannie, he paciently hearde hym, and aunswered immediately saiyng: The residue of my maners declareth me not to be furiouse, or to take pleasure in crueltee, specially to theym whom I fauour and haue nexte about me. See you not, what wormes and flies wolde increace to consume the graine and fruites of the earth, if the pleasantnesse of the sprynge tyme and beginning of sommer should euer continue: and the sharpe and terrible winter dyd not with his sharpe frostes and bitter wyndes pourge the earth of suche euill increace? Who knoweth not, that in all thynge that is sweete, woormes be founden, whiche wyll soone consume all that they breede

breede in, if it be not preserued by lai-
yng about it some thyng bitter or ve-
ry vnsauery: If the auncient lawes
of this citee iudgeth him to die, that
spitefully pulleth downe or defileth
the emperours image, or counterfai-
teth his coygne, seale or signe ma-
nuell: of how muche congruence and
more with iustice is it, that he should
suffer death, whiche with sellyng of
the administracion of Iustice, pluc-
keth downe and defileth amonge the
people the good renoume of the em-
perour: or counterfaiteth and chan-
geth the minde of the emperour, whi-
che is his verate image immortall,
wherby bothe the prince and the peo-
ple suffreth incomparable more da-
mage than by forgeyng of money.
Doe not ye beyng so wise a man, con-
sider, that he whiche bieth a thinge,
maie sell it? And for my parte while
I liue, I wyll neuer suffer any aucto-
ritee to be vsed as merchandise.
For that whiche I suffre, I maie not
with mine honour condemne or pro-
hibite. And I can not for shame pu-
nisshe a man for sellyng that thynge
that

that he dieth, wherfore if ye consider euery thynge well, ye shall finde no cause to blame me of crueltee, or resemble me to a tyranne.

¶ With these wordes Vlpiane founde hym selfe satisfied, and wonderynge at the emperours wisedome, ceased to speake any more against hym in any semblable iudgement.

¶ When he made any ordinarie iudges, aduocates, or proctours, he caused theym to be openly named, requirynge the people and geuynge theym courage, if there were cause to accuse them, to proue the crime by open witnesse. And he was wont to saie, sence christen men and Iewes in the election of priestes, caused them to be in suche forme tried: it shulde be inconuenient, if the same were not vsed in the gouernours of countreis, vnto whom were committed bothe the liues and substance of men that be vnder theim. Foreseene, if they did not sufficiently proue it, and that it semed to be malicious detraction, the accusour shuld foorthwith be beheaded.

Of

¶ Of the great care and diligence that Alexander vsed about the publike weale, and of certayne newe officers ordeined by hym. Capitulo. xviii.

The houſeholde ſeruauntes and counſailours of the emperour beynge well tried, and by his owne example brought in good ordre: alſo the head officers, iudges, and all other that had auctoritee in the publike weale, beynge well choſen and inſtructed by the exemple of the emperours courte: it was a wonder to beholde, with how little difficultee, and howe ſoone the reſidue of the weale publike was brought into a good faction, all men dylityng in vertue, and praiſyng the beautie and commoditee therof in their ſuperiours.

¶ Alſo reioyſynge at the affabilitee and gentilnes of the noble emperour: and ſemblablie dreadyng his ſeueritee, thei brought at the laſt vertue in cuſtome, whereby hapned, that ſuche vices as before ſemed little, and were nothing regarded, became to all men, or at the leaſt to the more parte deteſtable

stable. In so muche as the emperour needed not to sende foorth any espiall to espie mens condicions. For suche as were euill, were euery where noted, and of all men disdeigned. So that by theym it hapned, as it doeth by one that is sicke in a hotte feuer, whiche firste abhorreth euery medicine that the phisicion dooeth offer to geue him: but whan he beholdeth the phisicion drynke any thynge therof, than is he the better content to assaie of the same: But by reason that his tast is corrupted, to him al thing that is holsome, seemeth vnpleasant, be it neuer so delectable. Finally fearynge either to die, or to be compelled to receiue a more greeuouse medicine, he taketh the pocion by litel and litell, vntill at the last by custome of drinkyng therof, he hath brought that pocion to be as familiar and agreable vnto his taste, as was his common and most vsuall drinke. And than dooeth he scorne bothe theim that wilfullie wold die rather than they wold take medicine: and also them that be their kepers or rulers, whiche dooe suffer

theym to take onely that, which contenteth their appetite. Semblablie did they, who by the emperours exemple, accustomed them selfes to vertue and honestie, eschewyng suche vices, whiche before they had haunted.

¶ How themperour Alexander did ordein new officers in the weale publike, and what belonged to their auctoritees. Capitulo. xix.

Nowe let vs retourne vnto the emperour Alexander. Whan he perceiued that by the exemple of hym, and other great officers, the people began to applie and waxed apte to receiue due reformacion of the state of theyr liuing, he meruayllously thereat reioisynge, gaue hym selfe wholly to the restorynge of the publyke weale to hir pristinate honour. Wherfore to the entent that nothyng shoulde escape vnreformed, he ordeined to be in the citee, and also in the prouinces, manie officers, somewhat moe than before were accustomed to be, appointeyng causes

ciuile

ciuile and criminall to sundrie iurisdictions saynge: Where one man hath many matters to order of sundrie effectes, it fareth with hym as it dooeth with a mans stomacke: for the stomacke receiueth meates, diuerse in qualitees and effectes, whiche all together can not bee by one mans nature duely concocte and digested. For some meates bee in operacion hotte, and be not apte but for a colde stomacke: some contrariwyse be verie colde, and in a colde stomacke wyll neuer be boiled: other meates be of grosse and harde substaunce, and requyre a stronge and mightie stomacke to endue it: other be softe and delicate, and beynge to hastily digested, it nothyng profiteth. Notwithstandynge any one of the sayde meates beyng in one stomacke, are better prepared to digestion than many, consideryng the trauayle that Nature muste haue in the separacion of sundrie qualitees, that be in diuerse meates, to prepare theym to their effectes, whereto they were ordeigned. And if the naturall heate in

mans bodie be not therto sufficient, that whiche is ordeined for norishing of like, is conuerted to corrupcion of bloud and other humours, which is cause of sickenesse. But if any meate happē to come into the stomacke, whiche meate is apt for his temperature, there shall he be perfectly concoct or boiled, and by a naturall digestion made apt for the nourishyng and preseruacion of other membres. Accordyng to this similitude, if one man beyng in auctoritee, whiche ℨ resemble vnto the stomacke, be he neuer so well learned or wise, if he take vpon him the ordryng and discussyng of all maner causes, his witte, whiche is in the stede of nature, shall be therwith so muche incumbred, that beyng studiouse or occupied about one mattier, in the meane tyme an other is appatred: and if he leaue the firste, to reforme the seconde or third, the first is than in worse case than he founde it, the parties contendyng, beyng chauffed, and in a more feruent contencion. Or in a criminall cause the offenders beyng lefte vncorrected, puttyng all

feare

feare apart, not onely doe perseuere, but also increase in theyr euill doynges. Finally where one man hath the depeachynge of many matters, none one of theym maie be brought to a perfect conclusion. For as muche as to euery acte belongeth opportunitee, whiche can neuer be found, where many matters be enterlaced, opportunitee beyng onely espied by a vigilant and constant studie.

¶ Moreouer where many men be in auctoritee, good wittes shall not be hid nor vnrewarded, and many shall applie theim to vertue and studie, vpon hope of preferment. And where as be many particular auctoritees, there shall sundry matters be the sooner depeached. This was the saiyng of Alexander.

¶ And therfore by the consent of the senate and people, he ordeigned first accordyng to the counsayle of Plato, certaine persons, whiche were named Conseruatours of the weale publike: to whose office it apperteined to see, that the children of the Romaynes were well brought vp and instructed

Conseruatours

accordynge to the capacitee of theyr wittes, from the age of seuen yeeres vnto sixtene, and that in theyr plaies and recreacio wer nothing dishonest.

¶ Also that at certayne tymes appointed, they were exercised in ridyng, if thei were sons of gentilmen.

¶ Also they and the residue, were exercised in swimming, rennyng, wrastlyng, and to occupie all weapons of warre.

¶ Semblablie that the maidens, duryng the sayde age, were brought vp in shamefastnesse, humblenesse, and occupacion necessarie for a houswife. And that they were not seene out of theyr fathers houses, but onely in the temples, vnto the which women onely resorted: and that in the company of their mothers, or such other as wer in theyr places.

¶ Moreouer it pertcined to the saide Conseruators, to controll euery housholder, of what estate or degree so euer he were, if there were founde any excesse in his fare, or that he had resorte of riottous persons: or that he kepte any moe seruauntes than had

roumes

roumes in theyr houses, or in some necessarie businesse were continually occupied.

¶ Also that no man, neither in hym selfe, his wife, nor his seruantes shuld excede or in any parte change the apparayle that by the lawes or the emperours ordinaunces had been prouided.

¶ Moreouer to see that no vitailyng house, nor bordelhouse shoulde haue their doores open, or receiue any person, either before the soonne risen, or after the sonne set: whiche was doen to the entent that euerie man shoulde be knowen, that repaired to such places, and muche good hapned by that prouision.

¶ These Conseruators were thre score in noumbre, that is to saie, for euery tribe two, Rome beynge deuided into thyrtie tribes, and twise in the weke they assembled and did communicate suche defaultes as they hadde founden, and foorthe with all they certified to the prouost of the citee all the defaultes, reseruynge the education of children, whiche they Conseruatours

theim selfe reformed by sharpe admonicion geuen to theyr parentes: whom if they founde disobediente or negligent, they certified therof the senate, who caused the sayde parentes to be punished as enemies of the publike weale of the citee. Theym whiche offended in the other articles, the prouost of the citee punished, accordyng to the statutes and ordinances in suche cases prouided.

¶ The Pretours, Quessors, and other lyke offices and authoritees he augmented in numbre, all be it, he deuided their iurisdictions, to some he appoynted onely contractes, in the whiche woorde were comprehended all thynges, wherin bargaine or promise was conteined: and that he caused to bee extremely examined and discussed by the saide officers: and in whom was founden any deceipte or faith broken, he without hope of any remission or pardon, was immediately beaten with whippes. Whiche was also the punischemente of theym that had stolen priuilie without ante violence. The emperour saynge:

Cõtractes.

Disceipte punished.

That

That it was but a fantasie and a thynge to laugh at, to make a difference betwene stealyng and discepte or breakyng his bargaine, where it appereth to be no diuersitee, but onely that this hath truste ond credence ioygned with it, and the other hath none, but is a single iniurie. Wherfore in reason it is a lighter offence, where, by the other meanes, not onely the thing is gotten with as muche iniustice, as if it were stolen, but also Faieth, other wise called Truste, whiche is the foundacion of Iustice, and consequentely of the publyke weale, is dissolued. And therfore it ought to bee reuenged with no lesse punishment than simple theste.

Faieth called truste.

¶ Purueiours for grayne to the citee he made of honeste and diligent persones, and to theym he assigned particular auditours, notwithstandyng at the ende of the yere, bothe the purueiours and auditours leste their offices, and other were chosen.

Purueiours.

¶ To theim that were his bailiffes, receiuours, surueiours and other, that procured or gathered the reue-

Bailiffes.

nues of his crowne, he gaue competent salaries: but he fauoured theym not, callyng theym a necessarie euill. Wherfore if he perceiued, that any of theym had gathered muche richesse, he wolde take all from them, saiyng, Lette it suffise you, that ye haue taken so longe pleasure with my goodes: and beware that ye take not from other men iniustely, least ye make me more angrie with you.

¶All bee it, if he perceiued anie of theym afterwarde to liue vprightly, and to haue good witte and lerning, he aduaunced theym to some other roumes, wherwith thei cõfessed their seruice to be recompenced.

¶Finallie he neuer punished anie man grenously for his owne particular causes, and the sharpenesse that he vsed in punishyng offences agaynst the weale publyke, whan his considerations were well examined and pondered, was thought by all wyse men to be right expedient.

¶To the prouoste he ioigned .xiiii. whiche had been Consules, callynge theim gouernours of the citee, com-

maun-

maundynge theym to heare with the prouost, the affaires of the citee. And that no sentence were geuen, nor acte made, but that they all, or the more parte were therat present.

## ¶ The detestation that Alexander had vnto idelnesse, and the vices therof procedyng, and of diuerse prouisions that he made againste it. Capitulo. xx.

This most noble emperour was so rooted in vertue and feruent zeale towarde the weale publike, that all vice was to him almost intollerable. And for as muche as he perceiued that idelnesse that is to say ceasyng from necessary occupacion or study, was the sinke, whiche receiued all the stinkinge canelles of vice, whiche ones beyng brimme full, sodeinely renneth ouer through the citee, and with his pestiferouse ayre infecteth a great multitude of people er it maie be stopped & clensed. And that not withstandyng, the people beyng ones Idelnes

ones corrupted with this pestilence, shall with great difficultee, and with longe tract of time be deliuered. And yet ere that shall be brought well to passe, a great part af the people shall perishe: whiche this wise, and vertuouse emperour considerynge, and hauyng therof meruailouse care, to the entent to withdrawe men from all excuses of idelnesse, he with an incomparable prudence ordeigned for euery astate some forme of exercise to be necessarily or vertuously occupied, beginnyng at the base people or communers, whiche were most in noumbre, and procedyng foorth to euery other degree or condicion.

Vile occupatiō

¶ First, al vile occupacion or labour, wherby nature mought be corrupted, or bodily strength decaied, he caused onely to be exercised by bondemen or straungers, that is to saie, not beyng citesens.

Citesis of Rome

¶ Semblablie, he wold not suffre any citesen to bee a merchaunt aduenturer, nor to sell any thyng by retaile, that he him selfe wrought not, or wer not made by his awne prouision or studie,

ſtudie, ſaiyng: That the Romaines by trauailyng into ſundrie countreis, gathered and broughte into the citee with their merchaundiſe, the vices of other people, whiche apprehended by other (as the more parte of men dooe delite in new fangleneſſe) is the cauſe of more damage to the publyke weale than an hundred tymes the value of the merchaundiſe maie be commodiouſe.

¶ Moreouer findyng ones a delite to accumulate treaſure, and deſiryng to excede one an other in richeſſe, they attende ſo much to theyr owne particular lucre, that they abandone all liberalitee, beneuolence, and charitee, excepte it be very fewe.

¶ Finally they bee neuer to the publike weale profitable. Alſo they that retaile that whiche is bought of the craftes man that worketh it, thei not onely defraude other of the iuſte price, contrarie to the directe ordre of equitee, but alſo do conſume the time idelly, beyng not occupied neither in bodily exerciſe, nor in vertuouſe or commodiouſe ſtudie. Therfore to ſuche pra-

the practise or mistery, he admitted onely straungers. And also to bring out of other countreies, and to sell to the citesins all suche thinges as therof was none growynge in Italie, or not in sufficient quantitee, as wolles, mettall, and like. Foreseene that none of it were wrought in any place out of Italie. And of suche straungers it was lefull to the Romaynes, to bie in grosse, and retayle. All be it there shoulde no moe retaile than were appointed by the Senate: and those also should be examined and assigned by the prouoste of the citee and suche as were to hym associate. And the saide merchaunt straungers were by the emperours commaundement verie courteisely entertayned, and so were all other straungers, whiche repaired to the citee, to bie there any thynge, or elles to practise anie excellent cunnyng or crafte, and were exonerate of all charges for the warres, excepte it were onely for the defence of the citee. But of theym he sufered to be but a certaine numbre, whiche was not laufull for theym to exceede,

reede. And vnto theim were assigned of the Romaynes certaine iudges and officers, which yerely also were changed. But now to treate how he kept the people from idelnesse.

¶ First he prouided, that where there was not any artifice or crafte necessarie, but that it mought be founde within the citee, whiche he ordred in this wise. Actes.

¶ He knew euery yere ones by the officers called Censores, howe muche people were dwellynge in the citee of euery age.

¶ Also by theym, which were called Ediles, how many householdes there were of euery crafte. Than wolde he diligently enserche, of what perfection theyr woorkes were, wherin they were occupied: and if he founde therin muche lacke, so that the biers shuld suffer detriment, than enioined he the seller thereof, that he shoulde no more woorke to sale, vntyll he were instructed more perfectly. Notwithstandyng that person was compelled to woorke vnder an other man, whiche was more perfecte, vntill his woorke

woorke were commended.

Childrē to crafte ¶ Moreouer he ordeined, that after the children of the communers could write and reade perfectely, they were sette to some artifice or crafte. But if within one yere it appered, that they were vnapte therunto, or that it were muche contrariouse to their nature: than the Conseruatours examinynge as muche as they coulde, to what craft or science necessary theyr wittes were moste apte, vnto that shoulde they foorthwith be sette, to learne of theim whiche were good worhemen. And therefore he gotte out of all partes of the empire the moste cunnyng and perfect craftesmen in euery science to dwell in the citee, not onely compellynge theim by his auctoritee, but allurynge theim with yerely stipendes of grayne, to the findynge of their householdes, and also to be free from all manr exactions in peace or warre, to instruct in theyr craftes perfectly the youth of the citee.

¶ The craftes, whiche he wolde that the more parte of Romaines shoulde occupie, were those, wherin bothe the

bodie

bodie and witte mought be exercised, whiche he saide perteined to men that were free of condition: other occupacions, wherin was bodily labour onely, he said was for bondmen and beastes. And therfore within the territorie of the citee of Rome, and in the manours and fermes of the gentilmen Romaines, he ordeined, that baillifes and surueiours of husbandrie shoulde be freemen and citesins, and that the ploughe men and labourers shoulde be bondemen and straungers. In other citees beside Rome, some of these thynges were chaunged after the necessitee and nature of the people, wherin this emperour alwai had a meruailouse consideracion.

¶ After this diligent prouision, if any one of the people had been founde idell by the space of one whole date, except in feastfull daies and other times of solace appoynted, he was foorthwith examined, and hauing no leefull and approued excuse, he was fyrst whipped, and after by the Conseruatours committed to one of the craftes, that he was of, and for euery

dale that he was openly seene to be idle, the persone, vnto whom he was committed, shoulde for a moneth set hym to any labour that he list, as his slaue or bondeman, geuyng to hym meate and drinke onely. And it was not to any other man leefull, duryng that tyme, to geue hym meate or drinke, or to speake with him, other wyse than to rebuke hym. And after the sayd correction, the saide Conseruatours shoulde see that he were bestowed where he mought worke with a competent liuyng.

¶ The semblable order was diligently, and (as I mought saie) exactely kept by the Emperours stricte commaundment, bothe in Greece and Italie. And where execucion any tyme failed, or was neglected, the officers were deposed with open reproche, and forfaiture of the thirde parte of theyr substaunce: whiche was emploied immediately on grayne, and distributed equally and freely amonge the people well occupied, within the citee or towne where suche thyng hapned.

And with great difficultee the saide officers

officers in suche wyse deposed, coulde euer after obteine of the emperour, to come in auctoritee. By the feare wherof, and the said distribucion vnto the people, this ordinance was neuer omitted, duryng the life of Alexander. Wherfore it was a wonder to beholde, how sodeinely idelnesse was euerie where excluded, and cunning in euery occupacion augmented.

## ¶ Of baines and places of exercises, made for the people of Rome, by the emperour Alexander. Capi xxi.

MOreouer to the entente the people shoulde not be to muche fatigate with continuall labour, wherby their bodies shoulde become decrepite and vnapte to the warres, he not onely amended and inlarged the hotte bathes made by diuers emperours and princes before hym, wherin the people of Rome accustomed to refreshe & make cleane their bodies, but also made newe bathes more pleasant and sumptuouse, ioyning them to those that were made Baines

by Nero the emperour, conueighyng into them water naturally hotte, rennynge by conduites of marble from mountaines in Naples, by the space of .200. miles from the citee of Rome. And also he brought into some partes of the baines colde water from the moste pure and delectable springes: the people to vse the one or the other at theyr owne pleasures.

¶ Moreouer he bought certaine houses, whiche stode nighe to the sayde baine, and caused theim to be pulled downe, and that place he made to be leuelled, and to be sette with younge trees in the most pleasaunt facion, hauyng there large places, wherin the people, after thei wer bained, mought renne, leape, or wraſtle, or vse any other semblable exercise: to the whiche places the saide trees gaue a commodiouse and pleasaunt vmbrage.

Places of exercise.

And in the wraſtlynge places the ground was thicke couered with Camamile, Origanum, and other like grasses, bothe sweete in sauour and softe to fall vpon. Also the saide emperour muche delited in the beholdyng of the

of the sayde exercises. Wherfore it was the moste parte of his pastime or solace, to see the people exercised in fourme aforesayde, or els the gentlemen to assaie theim selfe in fourme of battaile, as hereafter shalbe declared. ¶ To the saide baines and places of exercise were assigned a number of kepers and ministers, to whom were geuen sufficient salaries. And those places were alwaie kepte so nete and dilectable, that to the eies or nose, was neuer ante thynge vnpleasaunt or noyfull: by the whiche clennesse the citee was meruaillously preserued from sundry sickenesses, whiche vndoubtedly dooe growe of corrupt erhalacions, ventynge out of mens bodies. And for that cause to auoide occasion of pestilence and other horrible diseases, this emperour prohibited by speciall lawes, ingurgitacions, banckettes, late suppers and longe. Moreouer caulyng the controllers of markettes (of whom there were diuers) whiche were euerie yere chosen of speciall honest men, and not auaricious or nedie, to haue

Corrupte sauours.

 a vi-

a bigilant eie on the market, that not
Vitailes. onely vitaylles were solde by a due
weyghte and measure, and at prices
sette by the senate, but also that they
were not in any parte corrupted in
sauour or substance, and that no suche
thyng were solde for vitaile, wherin
any poyson naturally mought be in-
gendred and hidde, as mucheroms,
frogges, and other lyke thynges, foū-
den out rather by wanton appetites,
than by nature ingendred to serue
for mans sustinaunce: And in these
thynges, if any lacke were perceiued
to be, the emperour and senate with a
diligent scrutinie founde out the per-
son, by whose defaute it happened,
with also the controller, whiche see-
med to be negligent. And the seller
was accordyng to the lawes sharpely
punished. The controller or other of-
ficer, if there were founden in hym
negligence, was with great rebukes
expelled from his office, and had the
tenth parte of his mouable gooddes
confiscate: whiche beyng brought in-
to money, and bestowed on wheate,
was distributed amonge the people,
whiche

whiche dwelled in that parte of the citee, where the offence was committed.

¶ It is here to be considered, that suche summes as were forfatted by corrupt or negligente officers, came neuer to the vse of the emperour, nor he gaue them to any person: but employng it on corne, he caused it to be distributed amonge the people. which in mine opinion was a meruailouse policie. For therby he declared, that he vsed seuerite, not for his owne particular aduauntage. And also the people, whiche suffred detriment by the lacke of the officers, receiued the benefite of that whiche was forfatted: whiche caused a multitude to lie alway in awaite to finde some misdemeanour in the officers, to the intent they mought therby be the better releued. And the officers at the last became meruailouse circumspect.

Forfatures employed.

And finally the prince for his wisedome and charitee not onely praised, but also as an vniuersall father of all his people was moste entierlie beloued.

¶ Touchyng suche persones as were in extreeme pouertee, and either by greuonse sickenesse or feeble age, were decrepite, or other wise not able to labour, I wyll after the nexte chapiter declare the incomparable prudence of this excellent emperour.

¶ Of the magnificence of the emperour Alexander in sumptuous and necessary workes, and in what exercises he caused the nobilitee and gentilmen of Rome to be occupied. Ca. xxii.

BEsides the baines, which I late remembred, made in the citee of Rome, Alexander made also in euery realme beyng subiect to the empire of Rome, common baines: he also made great and stronge barnes in
Barnes many citees, for the people to kepe in theyr priuate stuffe and gooddes, suche as had not of their owne priuate houses of sufficient strenthe for that purpose. He made also manie faire houses and mancion places, whiche immediately he gaue to his frendes, whom he perceiued to be

moste

moste truste and honest. In a place called Baianum, he made woorkes magnifike or sumptuouse, garnished with images of theym whiche were foigned to hym by any affinitee.

Meres and pooles.

¶ He made meres and pooles to be wondered at, bringyng the sea vnto theym, and causing them to be repleni-shed with straunge and principall fishes. Also he edified great and wonderfull bridges, and repaired all theim which were made by Traiane, leauyng notwithstandynge to Traiane the name and honour therof.

Images

¶ In the market place of Nerua, he sette vp great images of the moste noble emperours, some on foote, and some on horsebacke, with their titles ouer theyr heades, and betwene euery image a great piller of brasse conteinynge all theyr gestes and actes worthy remembraunce.

Basilike.

¶ He made also a Basilyke, or place, where ciuile cõtrouersies were herde and iudged, whiche conteigned in bredth an. 100. feete, and in length a thousande: and stode all vpon pillers of Porphyrie, whiche is a stone of

Porphyrie.

purple colour: and the pillers were garnished with images of noble princes, Grekes and Romaines, wrought in pure white marble, with theyr names ouer theyr heades: and vnder theyr feete, theyr actes wrought also in verate small images of copper in moste liuely and quicke demonstracion. But in one kynde of magnificence he passed all other. For where diuerse citees by earthe quakes had ben krushed, and therewith defourmed, he of the reuenewes of the same countreis, gaue great summes of money to the reedifiyng of theym. And manie he eftesoones restored to theyr pristinate beautie & strength, diuerse he made more substantiall and sure.

Townes repaired.

¶ There was no towne of reputacion in his tyme decaied, but that he caused the occasion therof to be serched for, & to be forthwith reformed.

¶ The hauens of Italie and Sicile, he caused not onely to be clensed and repaired, but also to be made more stronger, to defende outwarde hostilitee.

Hauens

¶ Moreouer, for the exercise of them, whiche

whiche were aboue the astate of the common people, he repaired and new made many places and thynges necessarie whiche is expedient to be put in remembraunce.

¶ Firste he visited all the libraries that were in the citee: And where he founde any bookes deformed either with auncientee or by negligent keppyng, or by any other meanes, he caused them to be newe written and laide in their places, and the houses to be not onely clensed, but also made more ornate and necessarie: As makyng for euery boke an huche locked, to the intent that whan any man came to studie there, he shoulde haue no moe bokes to loke on, than one of the kepers of the librarie (whereof there were a good numbre reteined to geue their attendance, hauinge therefore competent salaries) shoulde deliuer vnto them. And before they departed, the sayde keper shoulde peruse the leaues of the bokes, that they loked in, to thintent that if thei did cutte or rent any out of the volume, thei shuld be apprehended, and by the officers called

Libraries. Bookes.

called Ediles, committed vnto prison, and there shoulde remaine vntill they had repaired sufficiently the bookes that they had defaced, and also caused an other lyke boke to be written, and bestowed in the saide librarie.

And if any suche person had escaped by negligence or fauour of the keper, and the defaute founden by some other, the keper was expelled from his office without hope of remission, and was also compelled to redoube the harme in lykewise as he should haue doen, which committed the offence, if he immediately had ben apprehended.

They made also a new librarie, garnishyng it as well with moste principall woorkes in euery science, as also with the images of the authours, wrought most excellently both in imbosed woorke and portraiture: whiche librarie was deuided into sundrie galeries, accordynge to diuerse sciences, all builded rounde in the fourme of a cercle, and beynge separate with walles one from an other: And in that portion that belonged to Geometrie and Astronomie, were aboue

Peincture.

the

the walles great chartes and tables, conteignyng sundrie lienes, figures, descripcions, dimensions, or measurynges, conuersions of sterres, mocions, and reuolucions of planettes, spheres and imaginarie cercles, with also materiall spheres, quadrantes, astrolabes, and all other instrumentes belonging to those sciences.

¶ Semblable tables wer in that porcion, that perteined to Arithmetike and musike, conteignyng the sundrie proporcions of noumbres and tunes, and therto was added harpes, lutes, organes softe in sownyng. For all instrumentes that were lowde and made greatte noyse, were excluded thense, the cause appeareth to wyse readers.

¶ The place whiche was compassed about with the sayde libraries, was also rounde, and decked with pleasaunt imagerie, and haupnge seates commodiously about it: where they that came to studie in the libraries, mought walke or sitte at theyr pleasure, and communicate eche with other that whiche they had read or perceiued

reiued. And to these places there failed not to come dayly a great numbre of gentilmen.

¶ For other necessarie exercise, the emperour inclosed with a high wall, a grounde toignyng to his owne palaice, conteigning in circuite one Italien mile and a halfe, whiche within the wall was inuironed with a galery of three heightes, for men to stande in and beholde, whiche galeries were also of stone. And in the spate that two men mought stand & talke, there was a small piller of marble, decked with images of men that deserued noble remembraunce. The place was deuided or sette out with many large alaies, plaine & streyght, conteignyng in bredth one hundred feete, and in length one thousande feete. Those alaies were florred with plaister, & the residue was thicke spread with fine grasse and camomil, hauing here and there bankes for men to rest theim whan thei were werie.

Places of pastyme.

¶ The ponge gentilmen of the citee, whan they repaired to the palaice to geue their attendance, they in the meane

meane tyme that the emperour was in preparyng him forwarde, exercised them selfes, some in the sayde alates, in rennyng or castyng the ball, some in the green places wrastelynge, leappyng, and castyng of the darte. And in the galeries stode other of the nobilitee and gentilmen, suche as listed to beholde theym.

¶ And without the walles were great and high trees of cipresse and fyre, with brode toppes, conueighed thither with great industrie: whiche trees did cast ouer the walles a pleasant vmbrage or shadowe, and defended theim that did exercise from the vehement heate of the sunne beames. And also in winter kepte the place more milde and temperate, in resoluyng or breakyng the violente and cold blastes of the northern and weasterne wyndes.

¶ Often times themperour him selfe belited to come and beholde the sayde exercises: but in his owne persone he neuer exercised him selfe but priuily, and a few being present, to the intent, that if he were vanquished in anie

feate

feate (as sometime it happened), although few men surmounted hym in strength and deliuernesse) he woulde not geue occasion to be dispraised, and had in contempt of his subiectes.

¶ When by extreme heate in the sommer, or by rayne and other vehement tempestes of winter, the sayde exercises moughte not bee vsed: than the younge gentilmen repayred some to the sayde libraries, and passed the time vertuously in reading, writing, or playynge on instrumentes: diuerse haunted the scholes of philosophers, rhetoricians, and poetes (of the whiche sorte there were at that tyme in Rome a great noumbre) and hearde theym eyther recite theyr owne wookes, or expounde other olde authours. Many woulde resorte to the common houses called *Theatres*, and purposing some matter of philosophy, wold there dispute openly. Other wolde pike out of some auncient storie some question concernyng marcial or ciuile policie, and in commendyng or discõmendyng it, declare their opinions and sentences in the fourme of a consulta-

sultacion: whiche exercise was of no little importance to the increace of witte, and prouision of counsailours. And at suche exercise the emperour principally delyted to be present in his owne persone, as well to haue knowlage of other mens wittes and towardnes, as also to gather of their reasons some sentence or matter, whiche beynge kepte in remembraunce, mought perchaunce profite hym in mattier more serioule or erneſt occasion.

¶ Beſides theſe persons, there failed not to be some, more geuen to plaie than to studie, which also had a faire and large place in the palaice, where thei plaied at the cheſſe and other like games, wherin they mought be pleasantly occupied, wherin the winnyng was neither golde nor siluer, but onely victorie and commendacion of witte and diligence. Notwithstandyng it was leefull for theim at suche games to plaie for money, so it exceded not a summe certaine, which was assessed by themperour & senate. At dice it was not to any man leefull

to plaie: The emperour hauyng this sentence alwaie in his mouthe, Our forefathers trusted in wisedome and prowesse, and not in fortune: and desired victory for renoume and honour, and not for money: And that game is to be abhorred, wherin witte sleepeth, and idelnesse with couetise is onely learned. And for the mortall hate and indignacion, that he bare to this losse of time (for so ought it rather to be called, than a plaie) he made a lawe, whiche was ratified by the auctoritee of all the senate and people, That if any man were founde playyng at dice, he shoulde be taken for frantike, or as a foole naturall, whiche coulde not well gouerne hym selfe: and his goodes & landes should be committed to sage and discrete personages, appoynted by the whole senate, which imployng on him that, which was thought necessarie for his astate and degree, shoulde bryng truly that whiche remained to the common treasory: to the intent that whan he retourned to thrifte, or was seene by a good space of yeres, to vse good husbandrie, in employing well and honestly

Dice playyng

honestly that porcion that he had, he shoulde be eftsoones restored as well to his landes and gooddes, as to the reuennes and profittes, that were growen in the meane time, while thei were confiscate, or in the rule of his tutours.

¶ Finally nexte to theues and extorcioners the emperour most hated them, whiche after the sayde lawe beeyng made, were founde to be dice players, and would not haue any of them called either to office or counsaile. Dice players.

¶ Of hospitalles & other prouision made by Alexander for men that were decrepite, or so diseased, that they could not labour. Ca. xxiii.

ON a tyme the emperour Alexander visittyng al partes of the citee of Rome, to beholde how the temples and other solemne edifices were kepte and repaired, in passyng through the stretes he behelde a great noumbre of persons, some defaced with horrible diseases, and some mutilate of their membres, as lac-

hynge armes or legges, or the necessarie vse of the one or the other, whiche he considerynge with a seuere & graue countenance, at the last saide to a noble man, called Julius Frontinus, who at that time was Pretour or gouernour of the citee vnder the emperour: What sorte of people be these, whiche beyng horrible and noiouse to beholde, doe seeme vnprofitable to the weale publyke, sens they can not labour, but consume those thinges, whiche are ordeigned for theim that can defende the weale publike and vs whan occasion requireth? Than answeared Frontinus.

¶ Sir, they bee your naturall subiectes, wherof part be depriued of their membres by chance of warre, wherin they haue serued you and your noble progenitours emperours of Rome: some do lacke the office of their membres, by naturall infirmitees: the residue, whiche to your maiestee, and all other semeth to be an horrible spectakle, are men attached with greeuouse sickenesses, whiche doe happen to theim (as phisicions doe saie)

by

by the putrifaction of naturall humours. And wherof (saide the emperour) procedeth suche putrifaction of humours, suppose you? Truely (sayde Frontinus) as I haue redde and heard saie, it cometh of one of these causes, either for as muche as great abundance of superflouse humours, thicke and clammie, be dispersed in the bodie, whereby the pores (whiche are littell holes in the skinne throughout all the bodie, that be inuisible) be stopped: so that the exhalacion or breathe inclosed in the bodie, maie not issue out by the same pores: Wherunto a straunge or vnnaturall heate beyng iorgned, maketh the saide putrifaction. Sometyme it happeneth of meates or drinkes, beyng corrupted ere they bee receiued. Sometyme where as well the ayre as the bodies of men bee distempred. Also it happeneth sometime by the wrathe of god, where he is offended or neglected in suche duttie as belongeth vnto hym, as it hath been perceiued oftentimes in this citee, and declared by propheres.

Ye haue answered right well (saide the emperour) vnto my demaunde. But yet for as muche as I suppose, that ye call theym superfluouse humours, whiche are more than conuenient to the naturall proporcion and temperature of the body, wherin thei be, I prai you tell me, if ye can, wherof cometh that superfluouse abundaunce, and by what occasion doo they become thicke & clammie, whereby the pores (as ye saie) be stopped. Truely, sayde Frontine, as I haue heard of phisicions, and also daiely experyence and reason declareth, it procedeth of repletion and idelnesse, that is to saie, by eatyng immoderately aboue that whiche naturall heate maie concocte in the stomacke, also ingorgeyng meate vpon meate, ere that meate, whiche was first eaten, be fully digested: also by not vsyng competent exercise, wherby nature is comforted, and prepareth hir selfe to labour about the concoctyng and digestyng of that, whiche the bodie receiueth.

Ye haue nowe satisfied me (sayde the

the emperour) & well to the purpose.
¶ Now beholde (saide he) Frountine honourable father, what a pernicious negligence was in our predecessessours emperours, besides the il exemple of diuers of them, whiche haue like ill tutours, suffred the people of Rome theyr pupilles so many yeres, daiely to consume theim selfes by licence in lyuyng, which hath brought into the citee suche horrible sickenesse, whiche I wil prouide to expell thens, if it be possible.
¶ The next daie folowyng he assembled his counsaile, which (as I sayde before) was of fiftie reuerende personages: to whom he declared the communicacion betwene hym and Frountine, who at that time was present, beyng one of the counsailours, affirmyng that he was fully determined, as well to prouide for theim, whiche either were attached with the saide horrible sicknesses, and for those whiche were by warres for the weale publike mutulate in their membres, or maimed, as also to put cleane awaie, or at the least waie to minishe the ori-

ginall occasions of the saide sickenes-
ses. Whiche noble enterprise beyng
of all theim that herde hym commen-
ded: Finally it was thought expedi-
ent by the noble emperour, and by all
his saide counsayle approued, that
within the citee of Rome shoulde be
two fayre and large hospitalles build-
ded, to receiue and kepe them, whiche
were so mutulate or maimed in the
warres, that thei coulde not exercise
theym selfes in manuell occupacion
(for all other labours were dooen by
captiues, bondemen, and slaues, and
the Romaines were therof discharg-
ged) Also without the citee in some
village nigh to it, wherby passed some
ryuer, shoulde also be edified two o-
ther hospitalles, ample and necessarie
for fiue hundred sicke persons, vnto
whom shoulde be apointed fiue phi-
sicions, substancially learned in phi-
sike, and well experienced. Also fiue
expert surgeons, with two apotica-
ries, men of good credence and trust,
whiche should be bounden to haue al-
way all necessary drougges, vigorous
in their force and vertue, without

sophisti-

sophisticacion or other deceite in simples or compoundes. Also that they shoulde burne or vtterly reiecte all thynges, whiche were eyther corrupted, or so dried, that it shoulde seeme to the phisicions (who shoulde as oft as they list examine the wares) to be noiouse, or to medicine vnprofitable.

¶ The meate whiche was ordeyned for these sicke persons, shoulde be so littell in quantitee, that it was lesse than sufficient for any whole person.

¶ And whan it was asked of the emperour, why he would that thei shuld haue so little a pitaunce, he answered merily, that he did it for three special considerations.

¶ The first was, that he had redde in the bokes of Galene, the moste excellent phisicion, that the more one nourished bodies vncleane, and not sufficiently pourged, the more he did hurt them. 1

¶ Also if the meate were more than the sicke men coulde eate, the ministers about them wolde sel that whiche was left: and whan thei had gathered therby muche money, eyther 2

thei wolde liue therwith riottously, and neglecte their dueties in attendyng the sicke folke, or els with that gaine prouide for theym selfes somemore welthy and easie liuyng: so that in conclusion, the sicke people shoulde be destitute of conuenient ministers to awaite on theim.

¶ The thyrde consideracion was, that if the sicke men had abundaunce of good meate, many of them remembryng, that whan they were whole, they shoulde be constreigned to some occupacion, and that they shoulde not than eate so muche meate and so good, as they eate in the hospitall, where they laie well at reste. Wherfore perehaunce when they were whole, they would finde the meanes to fall ekesoones in their saide sicknesse or other lyke, that they mought be brought agayne to the hospitall.

¶ Suche miserable nature remaineth in some men, that to liue idelly and voluptuously, they wyll chose rather to be sicke than to be healed.

¶ These allegacions of the wise emperour was than confirmed by diuerse,

uerse, whiche had knowen it by longe experience. Concerning them whiche were mutulate or maimed in warres for the weale publike, they shoulde haue a more plentiouse entertetnement, if he were in pouertee or lacked frendes. But they whiche were not in that necessitee, shoulde haue appointed by the Senate and the emperours consente, an honest proporcion in corne and wine, to spende in theyr owne houses, as a thankefull remembraunce of the Senate and people for their goodendeuour whiles thei were able.

¶ Moreouer to prouide for tyme to come, that is to saie, that the causes before remembred, wherof the sayde horrible sickenesses proceded, he affirmed, that the beste and moste sure meane was to pacifie the ire of god, and to make him beneuolent vnto the people, whiche shoulde be moste assuredly doen, by excludyng horrible vices and abhominacions out of the citee, and to honour god purelie. As for the disposicion of mens bodies, made apte by surfettes and idelnesse to receiue

to receiue corruption, and conse-
quently horrible sickenesses, he deter-
mined to make an Edict or imperiall
ordinaunce, confirmed by an acte of
the Senate, that no man shoulde vse
moe than two meales in one daie, and
that there shoulde be at the least, fiue
houres betweene euerie meale. Al-
so that the Censors or correctours of
maners, shoulde take diligent heede,
that if they founde, or were informed,
that any man of the comminalte
wente to his meale, before he had
wrought sufficiently in some occupa-
cion, that the same Censors shoulde
cause hym to bee apprehended and
kepte in some prison, by the space of
three daies, hauyng but ones in the
daie onely, one ounce of breadde, and
a litle water, without any other nou-
rishement: the Emperour here re-
herseynge a prouerbe, whereof he had
heard parte of the Christen men:
*Let hym eate that laboureth, for he that
laboureth not, is not woorthie that thyng
that he eateth.* And suche as mought
not be withdrawen from idelnesse, he
woulde haue theim sent into Spaine,

to digge

to digge for golde: or into the ties called Cassiterides, to labour in tinne woorkes. And if within a while they laboured well without coercion or grutchyng, those shoulde be reuoked into the citee, there to applie diligently theyr occupacion.

The woulde also that the common people shoulde not haue at one meale, but one kynde of flesche or fysche, and that shoulde not be either delicate, or in great quantitee. And if any man were founde dooynge otherwise, he shoulde forfaite to the common treasourie double the value of the meate, whiche he had for that meale prouided. And that no gentilman should haue moe than three sundrie dishes at one meale, besides fruite: nor any senatour aboue. iiii. diuerse dishes, and one kynde of fruite if he list. Whiche noumbre he him selfe did not excede, although no lawe did therto compell him. He would not that any citesin shuld resort to opē tauerne, but that euery man shoulde haue his prouision in his owne house. And that tauerners and common Cookes

should

shoulde serue onely for theym, whiche dwelled out of the citee, and came thither for some necessarie businesse.

And if any citesin were founde in tauerne eatyng or drinkyng, he should be sent for to the Censors, & be sharpely rebuked: At the secounde time, excluded out of all assembles, and noted euer after as a man out of credence or possibilitee to any preferment. At the thirde time, he shulde be sent to the mines, & there remaine, vntill he seemed to haue amended his maners.

¶ A gentilman shoulde be at the first tyme rebuked. At the secounde time, lose the name of a gentilman, and be reckened amonge the base people.

The thirde time his gooddes shoulde be committed to a tutour, wherof he should haue no portion, vntill it were well perceiued, that he had vtterly lefte resortyng to tauernes.

¶ A senatour, beyng founde in suche places, shoulde incontinently be discharged out of the senate: being (duryng his life) without hope to bee therto restored.

Whan

¶ whan the emperour Alexander had concluded these thynges with his owne counsaillours, he soone after came into the senate, and there recited in an eloquente and sobre oracion, the sayde articles, declaryng, what feruent desyre he had to saue the people of Rome, not onely agaynst outwarde hostilitee, but also agaynst inwarde perilles and consumpcion of theyr bodies by horrible sickenesses: which oracion finished, all the senate with teares in their eies for gladdenesse, in the name of theim selfes and the people, rendred most hertie thankes to the emperours maiestee. And foorthwith without any excepcion or misliking of any one thing, they confirmed it by an acte of the senate.

And the nexte daie the Tribunes assembled the people, and declared to theym all that preceded: whiche they so ioiously heard and receiued, that they ratified it with their cõmon consentes, with these acclamacions.

Noble Alexander, we praie the goddes, that they haue no lesse care of your maiestee than ye haue for vs, Most happie be we

that

that we haue you amonge vs. Noble Alexander, the goddes preserue you, the goddes defende you, prorede foorth in your purpose. We ought to loue you as our father, to honour you as our lorde, to meruaile at you as a god here lyuyng amonge vs. Therto they added: Noble emperour, take what ye wyll of our treasure and substance to accomplish your purpose.

¶ The empetour hearyng of this liberall offer, caused to be answered in his behalfe, by Frontine his Pretor: The emperour thanketh you, but nothyng wyll he charge you with, touchyng the buildyng and furnishyng of the sayde .iiii. hospitalles, for he wyll dooe it of his owne treasure: onelie two thynges he requireth of you, whiche shall not be burdeinouse to you. Firste, that ye ceasse not to pursue and obeie continually all the saide statutes and ordinaunces. The seconde, that ye wyll be content, that suche common reuenues, which seeme to him vainely emploied, & against the weale publike, maie without any grutchyng of your parte, bee laide to the maintenaunce of the said hospitalles.

Therat

¶ Therat all the people eftesoones with one voice cried: Dooe noble emperour what shall seeme to you good. For your most blessed nature can not erre or doe amisse any thyng that ye purpose. Hereat themperour reioisyng, and remembrynge that longe tyme before he thought that the plaies, called Florales and Lupercales, and the abhominable ceremonies of Isis (in the whiche were shewed by men and women naked most abominable mocions and tokens of lecherie) were prouokers and nourishers of beastly vice: he therfore by the consent of the senate, abolisshed the saied plaies and ceremonies: And the reuenues, whiche belonged to the maintenãce of them, beyng verie great, he appoincted to laie theim vnto the saied hospitalles, with some parte of his owne possessions, whiche he had purchased.

¶ Finally the saied foure hospitalles within the space of one yere were builded on the riuer of Tyber, in the most ample and magnifike facion: so that all the chaumbres of the sicke people were so made, that the floores

of theim were tenne feete aboue the grounde, and distant one from an other twentie feete, euerie chambre hauyng his baine, and freshe water conueighed into euerie one of theim by a cundite, their places of easement ouer the riuer, the wyndowes liyng north and northeast, the floores of great thicke plankes close ioigned. In the nether storie were the sellers, larders, wardropes, and suche other offices. At the southe side were like many chambres, the windowes opened towarde the northe: the kitchins and lodgeynges of officers and ministers, whiche shoulde serue the sicke men, were at the weast ende. At the east ende, hauyng a prospecte into the northe, was the ware houses, whiche serued for medicines: to theim were ioigned the logeynges of the apoticaries, phisicions, and surgeons, and they were right faire and honestlie furnished.

¶ Of no lesse magnificence were the two hospitals in the citee, but rather more costely, wherby the beaultie of Rome was much augmented. These

thyn-

thynges beyng stablished, the senate, toke on theim the gouernãce of them, appoinctyng euery yere by lotte .x. senatours to be thereof surueiours and controllers of all the officers and other ministers. And the same senatours at the ende of their yere to make accoumpt openly to the Tribunes and people, of the imploiment of euerie parcell of the saied reuenues. And if any were found in arrerage, he shuld be compelled immediately to pate to the treasorie of the saied hospitalles, foure times as much as the arrerage amounted to. Finally, so much commoditee happened vnto the citee of Rome by the saied hospitalles and other ordinances before rehersed, that within verie few yeres after, no foule sickenesse was perceiued to be in the citee, nor idell persone: by occasion wherof a great part of the chambres in the saied hospitalles were vacant, and muche of the reuenues were saued: whiche beyng brought to the cõmon treasourie, afterwarde eased the people of taxes in time of warre, to their no little comfort and quietnesse.

## ¶ In how sundrie wyse Alexander exercised his owne person, so that he was neuer vnprofitablie occupied. Cap. xxiiii.

The minde of this noble emperour was so feruently sette and determined, to the good gouernance and aduancement of the weale publike, and the conseruacion of the same, that in eight the first yeeres of his empire, which was the most part of his reigne, in as muche as he reigned but .xiii. yeres and .ix. daies, he did almost none other thyng, but cõtinually sit with his counsailours, whiche were neuer fewer than fiftie men excellent in lernyng and vertue, traictyng and deuisyng thynges expedient for the weale publike. And by the exaumple of Augustus the emperour, he reported to the whole Senate ones in a moneth, suche thynges, wherupon they were concluded, with the principall reasons, whiche therto induced theim: whiche if the more parte of the Senate semblablie liked,

liked, than were the prouisions or or-
dinaunces deuised, by theyr sentence
approued, and incontinently enacted
and published. And to the entent he
would not haue his labours, and the
auctoritee of the senate frustrate by
the lacke of execucion, Notwithstan-
dyng that he had many espialles (as
I saied before) to awaite the defau-
tes of officers, he vsed many times to
disguise hym selfe in diuerse straunge
facions, as sometime in the habite of
a schooler of philosophie, comen out
of Grece, and speakyng nothyng but
Greeke, which he did most exquisite-
ly: oftentymes like a merchant, come
out of Syria, or Perlia, whiche had
than but one lāguage, and that spake
the emperour naturally, for as mu-
che as he was borne in Syria. And
hauyng with hym one or two men of
that countrei, whiche he did counter-
faite, he like a schooler or seruaunt
woulde one daie haunte one parte of
the citee, an other daie an other part:
And most politikely finde occasion to
see the state of the people, with the in
dustrie or negligence of theim that

ther officers, which progresse he wold neuer discouer to anie man, but onely to Vlpiane, or one or two moe of his most secret counsailours or seruauntes, neither before that he beganne it, nor after: and to them that accompanied hym, he commaunded, that they shoulde kepe it euer secrete, as they woulde auoyde his moste greeuouse displeasure. And in deede, duryng his life, it was by them neuer discouered. But sometyme he coulde not so escape vnknowen, but that he was sometyme perceiued, but dreadyng his seueritee, they that mette with hym, and knew hym, durste not salute hym, or make any signe of knowlage vnto hym. But whan that they had disclosed it, all they that heard it, examined theyr owne actes: and all they, whiche at that tyme had dooen any thyng worthy to be reproued, liued in dreade, loking to be therfore corrected, or at the least waies blamed. Contrariwise, they whiche had dooen anie thyng worthie commendacion, toke meruailouse comfort, doubting not, but that their good

actes

actes shoulde either with benefite, or with the emperours preises be shortely rewarded: wherunto soone after was added to profite, either in some office, or in other yerely reuenues.

¶ After that he had reduced the citee to this honorable state, he than by the aduise of his moste discreate counsailours, ones or twise in the weeke, vsed to solace out of the citee, with a great companie with hym of honourable personages. For he neuer shewed hym selfe openly as emperour, but with a great and honorable presence, aboue anie other kyng of the worlde: all be it, than he expressed a meruailouse familiaritee to all men indifferently, that listed to approche hym, without repulse to any man beyng in honest vesture, and not diseased with infectiue sickenesse.

¶ In this solasyng he hunted the harte, the wilde bore, and suche as be called Aftes, brought for the nones out of the great wooddes of Germany, which be in quantitee higher and longer than anie oxe. He hunted also oftentymes the beare, but that was Hunting.

onelie whan he was in the partes where thei were bredde, saiyng, That forasmuche as the beare was of his nature a deuourer of cattell, he desired not to haue of that kynde in those places, where cattell is nouriſhed.

¶ In huntyng theſe beaſtes, he sometime on horſbacke proued his strēgth, somtimes shootyng, otherwhiles caſtyng at them iauelins, which serued for that purpoſe. Oftentymes he onely beheld other yonge gentilmen huntyng, which he deuided into sundrie companies, and appointed to them a number certaine of arowes or iauelins, to the intent that one should not be more exercised, or take more solace in huntyng than an other.

¶ The lions, libardes, tygers, panthers, and other like straunge and furiouſe beaſtes, he had in great numbres, whiche were kepte onelie to the intent that at certaine tymes in the Amphitheatre, and other like places in the citee, ordeined to the purpoſe, the people mought take pleaſure in beholdyng them, and alſo seeing some ſuche deſperate perſons (as woulde

aueng-

auenture their liues) fight with some of the saied beastes, or one beaste to fight with an other. But neuer woulde he lette anie gentilman Romaine to dooe any suche battaile, saiyng, That he esteemed none so littell, that he wouldde put hym in daunger, for suche a beast, whose bodie beyng dead, was nothing profitable.

¶ He toke also pleasure to hunte the falowe dere, the roe, and the hare with greihoundes, inforcing his horse (wherin he muche delited) to geue as manie tournes to the game that he hunted, as the greihoundes shoulde dooe. And in that pastime hauyng to euery beast of venery but two dogges at the moste, he cõtended with many other ponge gentilmen on horsbacke, whiche were by hym selfe onelie appointed, to shew him selfe moste deliuer and redie to incountre and checke the game at the moste aduauntage: wherin was a right pleasaunte and also profitable exercise, shewyng a visage or representacõ of a skyrmish in warres, specialli whan he hunted the harte, and the beastes named Al-

tes. For than there required to be shewed muche strengthe and hardinesse, and in the pursuite labour and peinefulnesse. And in this solace he vsed muche prudence. For they whiche one daie hunted with hym, shoulde not hunte the next daie, but beholde other hunting, and marke diligently the lacke of theim that hunted in to muche haste or slownesse, to the intent that thei mought refrayne suche defaute. And they that dyd beste, were praised. And by hym that was the prouost of huntung, it was regestred in the emperours presence, howe many tymes euery man was commended, to the intent that as roumes of capitaines and petite capitaines were voide in any of the emperours garisons, the whiche in the saied huntynges were iudged moste actife, if other good maners were in them founden accordyng, shoulde be preferred to suche roumes after their merites. But alwaie this good emperour had a vigilant respect to the fourme of theyr liuynges, and adusaunced no man sodeinelie, but with

longe

longe deliberacion and good aduise-mente.

¶ Moreouer not withstandyng his huntyng or other recreacion, he neuer wolde lette anie daie passe, without either consultyng some thyng for the weale publike, or geuyng some true sentence in iudgement, or readyng some place in good authors, to aug-ment his wisedome, or writyng some storie or other thyng worthy remem-braunce: he was suche a nigarde of time, that he was merualiously gree-ued, if he spente anie daie in solace without dooing of any of these thyn-ges that I haue rehersed. Not with-standyng that in the meane tyme, all the affaires of thempire were treated and ordred by men assured good and faithfull, whom he knew well wolde not be corrupted. And whan nede requyred, he hearde matters before it was daie, and prolonged the tyme vntill it were late and within night. And yet not withstandyng he neuer shewed countenaunce of werynesse, ne to be in anie parte frowarde or an-grie: but had alwaie one maner of

Placabi litee.

visage

visage, and in all thinges seemed merie and pleasaunt,

¶ Undoubtedly he was of an excellent prudence, as in whom no man coulde finde any lacke, and of so readie a witte, that if any man merilie wold taste hym with a preatie taunt, he shoulde shortely perceiue, that he vnderstode hym.

¶ After the commune affaires, as well ciuile as merciall, he gaue the more part of his studie to the reading of Greeke authours, readyng the bokes of Plato of a publike weale. And whan he would reade any latine bokes, he radde specially the bokes of Tullie, of a publike weale, and also his offices. Sometymes he radde oratours and poetes: amonge whom was Serenus Ammonicus, whom he knew and fauoured, and also Horace. He radde muche the life of the great Alexander, whom specially he folowed, notwithstandyng he abhorred his dronkennesse and crueltee. All be it, the one and the other is defended & excused by some good authors: whom oftentimes the emperour muche

Alexander Magnus.

rye beleued.

¶ After his studie he applied hym selfe to wrastlyng, rennyng, or throwyng of the balle moderately.

¶ After his exercise, hauyng his bodie anoynted with precious and holsome oynctmentes (as it was at that time the vse) he entred into a baine or stew not hotte, where he taried sometyme by the space of one houre, not onely to washe hym, but also to exercise hym selfe in swimmyng. And whan he was come out of the baine, he woulde eate a good quantitee of milke, sopped with fine manchet, and a fewe egges, & therto wold he drinke Mulsū. methe: and taking this for his breakfaste, sometyme he woulde dine also: And oftentymes he abstcigned vntill supper.

¶ Alwaie at after noone he applied the tyme to signyng and readyng of letters and billes, they whiche were called remembrauncers, standyng about hym: And if by the reason of sickenesse or age it were peinefull for theym to stande, he caused theim to sit downe, and made the secretaries,

or

or clerkes to reade the saied letters or
bilies vnto theim: The emperour ha-
uyng alwaie a penne, with his owne
hande added to, that which was ne-
cessarie: but that did he by the aduise
or sentence that seemed best or moste
conuenient. When he had perused
all these thynges, all his friendes
were leat in together, and who that
list mought freely and boldely speake
than vnto hym: and he merily and
comfortablie gaue eare vnto theim.
All be it, he woulde heare no man a-
lone, without his great maister, or
Vlpian the lawier, and such as were
associate with hym in some speciall
cause of iustice: but yet he neuer tal-
ked with any of theym, but that he
caused Vlpian also to be present. In
this forme this noble emperour pas-
sed his time, entrelacyng therwith
other maner of solace.

How

¶ How the emperour Alexander, at the request of his mother Mammea, sent for the most excellent clerke Origene: and of diuerse notable sentences spoken by the same emperour, concernyng the receiuing of Christen faieth.

Ca. xxv.

AT this tyme there was in the citee of Alexandria in Aegypte a man excellent in all maner of learnyng, and therwith wonderfull eloquent in the greeke tounge, whose name was Adamantius Origenes, in so muche as whan he was but of the age of. xviii. yeeres, he was in all the liberall sciences, and in philosophie learned exactly aboue all mens estimacion, he was sonne of one Leonidas, who for the christen feith was beheaded. Eucolpius.

¶ Also this Origene was christened, and from his tendre age moste perfitly brought vp in the rules of that religion, which he alwaie most exactly

obſerued, as well in all kyndes of abſtinence, as in example of humilitee, and contempt of thynges worldely. He was for his great learnyng and ſeueritee of life, appointed by the biſhop of chriſten men in Alexandria, to preache and expounde the bokes, whi che they called the Bible: by occaſion wherof he drew a great numbre of people dailie to the ſaied chriſten feith: whiche although the emperour Alexander knewe, after he dyd perceiue, that thei were, exquiſite folowers of vertue, and peace, he woulde not ſuffer that any of theim ſhoulde be apprehended or punished: but had theim in great admiracion and reuerence.

¶ The fame of this great clerke Origene came to the eares of Mammea the emperours mother: who (as ſome men ſuppoſed) was all readie perſwaded to imbrace that profeſſion. Wherfore to be the more perfectly inſtructed therin, ſhe moſt affectionately coueited the preſence of the ſaied Origene. And therfore ſhe awaityng opportunitee, came to themperour hir ſoonne,

sonne, and desired him, that he wold sende for the saide Origene, whose famouse learnynge was onely by report knowen vnto hym. To the whiche requeste he easily graunted. And he hym selfe indited letters to be directed to Alexander, than beyng the bishop of christen men in Alexandria, the tenour wherof hereafter ensueth.

¶ Alexander emperour Augustus .&c. to Alexander the chiefe bishoppe of Christians in the great citee of Alexandria, well to dooe. The fame of the vertue and wonderfull learnyng of Adamantius Origenes your great philosophier, sounderth continually in our eares, whiche maketh vs desirouse to beholde and here him, whose name contendeth in honourable renoume with our imperiall maiestee. we notwithstandyng not enuyng his glorie, but coueityng to be parte takers of his inspired learnyng, and folowers of his vertue, do require you, to licence hym to come vnto vs to Rome at his leisure, without festinacion or trauayle. We haue written to our prouost of Aegypt, that he prouide

The letters of Alexander the Emperour.

Ευπραττειν.

nide for hym all thyng expedient for his iourney toward vs. Fare ye well.

¶ After the bishop had receiued these letters, he muche reioisyng thereat, sent for Origene. But with great difficultee mought he perswade hym to take that iourney, allegeyng by diuerse argumentes, that it shoulde be more necessarie, that he continued his preachynges & lessons where a great parte of the people were all redie informed in the christian feithe, and daiely increased, and ware desirous of the interpretacion of diuine misteries, than to go to the citee of Rome, where abounded all vice, pride and tyrannie, and there to sowe precioulse seedes, as it were in the sande, or to geue orient perles to swyne.

¶ Yet finally whan the bishop and other sage personages had credibly informed hym of the most excellent vertues of the emperour Alexander, and in what sort he had reformed the state of the citee of Rome, he condescended to goe thither. Whiche beyng intimate vnto the Prouost of Aegypt: he (accordyng to the Emperours com-

maun-

maundment) prouided for him a ship, with all thynges necessarie vnto his iourney. And because he beheld hym simplie apparailed, he ordeined for hym sundrie garmentes in the moste honest sort that philosophiers than vsed: But Origene wouldе not receiue any part therof, not so muche as hosen or showes, but lyke as he alwaie accustomed to goe from his childhode (that is to saie, in a single garment of clothe, and barefooted) so went he to Rome.

¶ And whan at his arriual there wer brought vnto him a mule and a chariote, to ride on the whiche he best liked: he answeared: That he was muche lesse than his maister Christ, which rode but one daie in his life, and that was on a selie asse mare: Wherfore he would not ride, except he were sicke or decrepite: so that his legges mought not serue him to go.

¶ The emperour and his mother hearyng of the comyng of Origene, caused him to be brought in theyr presence, where he accordyng to his dutie right humble saluted the emperour kneelyng, but the emperour with

moſt gentill countenaunce embraced hym, and inforced hym to ſtande on his feete. Semblablie the emperours mother deuoutely ſaluted him, reioiſyng muche of his preſence.

¶ Whan the emperour had beholden his natiue grauitee, and moſt aſſured countinaunce, he in his herte iudged him to be a reuerende perſonage.

Than demaunded he of hym, what thyng he profeſſed. He aunſwered: Veritee. Veritee. Themperour aſked of hym, what he ment therby. He ſayde: It was the woorde of the lyuyng god, whiche was infallible. The emperour aſked, whiche was the liuyng god, and why he ſo called hym. Origene aunſwered: That he dyd put that diſtinction for a difference from theim, whom men beyng longe drowned in errour, did call theyr goddes, whom they confeſſe to be ones mortall, and to haue died: but the god, whom he preached, was euer liuyng, and neuer died, and is the lyfe of all thynges that be, lyke as he was the creatour of theym.

Liuyng God.

¶ And whan the emperour had required

quired him to declare the vnitee of God the creatour, he deuoutely lifting vp his eies, after a shorte meditacion, with an incomparable and most compendiouse eloquence, forthwith opened that misterie in suche wise, that as well to the emperour and his mother, as to all other standyng about them (of whom I Eucolpius moste happilie was one) it seemed, that we were brought out of a longe slepe, and than dyd we see thynges as they were in deede, and that whiche before we esteemed and honoured, were but vaine dreames and imaginacions. Yet the emperour after a litteli pause, sayde vnto Origene, that he muche meruailed, why men of suche wonderfull knowlage, shoulde honour for God, a man that was crucified: beyng but of a poore astate and condicion. O noble emperour (sayde Origene) Consider what honour at this present tyme the wise Athenienses yet doe to the name and image of Codrus, their last king of Athenes, for as muche as at the tyme that warre was made by the

two people called Peloponenses, and Dorienses, against the Athenienses, aunswere was made to theim, whiche counsailed with Apollo at Delphos, that the Peloponenses and Dorienses (if they slewe not the kynge of Athenes) shoulde haue the victorie. Wherof Codrus hearyng, preferryng the safegarde of his people before his owne life, toke on hym the garmentes of a slaue, and bearyng on his shoulder a burdeine of stickes, went to the hoste of the enemies, and there of a purpose quarelyng with some of theim, and in the prease hurtyng one with his knife, he was by hym, whiche was hurte, striken through the bodie and slayne: by occasion wherof, after that it was perceiued and knowen of the enemies, they beyng confused, reised their campe and departed . . . And for this cause the Athenienses, haue euer sens had the name of Codrus in reuerence, and as all men doe thinke worthily and not without reason.

Now than to consider most excellent prince, howe muche more woorthie, with what greatter reason and bounden du-

den duelle ought we and all men to honour Chriſte, beyng the ſoonne of god, and god, who not onely to preſerue mankynde from daunger of the deuill, his auncient enemie, but alſo to deliuer man out of his darke and ſtinkyng dungeon of errour, beyng ſent by god the father from the higheſt heauens, willyngly toke on hym the ſeruile garment of a mortall bodie, and bidyng his maieſtee, liued vnder the viſage of pouertee, and finally, not of his enemies immediately, but much more againſte reaſon, of his owne choſen people the Jewes, vnto whom he had extended benefites innumerable, and after his temporall natiuitee were his naturall people and ſubiectes, he quarellyng with theim, by declaryng vnto theim theyr abuſes, and pricking them with condygne rebukes, at the laſt he was not ſlaine with ſo eaſie a deathe as Lodrus was, but in moſt cruell faction was ſcourged vntill no place in his bodie was without woundes: and than had a crowne of long and ſharpe thornes ſette and preſſed on his head,

and after longe tourmentes and despites, he was constreigned to beare an heauie crosse, wherone afterwarde bothe his handes and feete were nailed with longe and great nayles of yron: and the crosse with his naked and blouddie bodie beyng lifte vp on height, was lette fall with violence into a mortaise, that all his ioyncte were dissolued. And not withstandyng all this tourment and ingratitude, he neuer grudged, but liftyng vp his eies vnto heauen, he praied with a loude voice, saiyng: Father forgeue theym, for they knowe not what they dooe.

¶This was the charitee moste incomparable of the soonne of God employed, for the redempcion of mankynde, who by the transgression of Adam the first man that euer was created, was taken prisoner by the diuill, that is to saie, kepte in the bondage of errour and sinne, from the actuall vision of goddes maiestee, vntill he were in this wise redemed, accordyng as it was ordeined at the beginning.

¶At these woordes of Origene all they

they that were present were wonderfully astonied, and therwith the emperour with a sturdy countenaunce said vnto Origene.

Ye haue wonderfully set foorth a lamentable historie, but yet notwithstanding therin be thynges darke and ambiguouse, whiche doo requyre a more plaine declaration. For what maketh you bolde to affirme, that Jesus, whiche in this wise was crucified, was the soonne of god and god, as ye haue called hym? Sir (sayde Origene) sufficient testemony, whiche of all creatures reasonable ought to be beleued, and for the most certayne proofe to be allowed. What testimony is that, saide the emperour? Truelie, saide Origene, it is in dyuerse thynges. Fyrste the promise of god, by whom all this worlde was made. Also by his holy spirite speakyng by the mouthes of prophetes, as well Hebrewes as Greekes, and other, whom ye call Vates, and Sybillas.

Thyrdly by the natiuitee of Jesus of a pure virgine without carnall companie of man: the moste pure and

cleane fourme of his liuyng without sinne: his doctrine diuine and celestiall: his miracles most wonderfull and innumrable, all grounded on charitee onely without ostentacion: his vndoubtfull and perfeet resurreccion the thirde daie after he was put to death: his gloriouse ascencion vp vnto heauen in the presence and sight of fiue hundred persons, whiche were vertuouse and of good credence. Also the gift of the holy gost, in speaking all maner of languages, and interpretyng scripture, not onely by him selfe, but also afterwarde by his apostles and disciples, and geuen to other by imposicion of theyr handes. And all these thynges ordinarily folowed accordyng vnto the sayde promises and prophesies. I omitte to speake of the confession of diuelles, whiche by Iesus, and his opostles in his name, were caste out of people, whiche were obcessed. The oracles and answeres of theym, whom ye vntruely call goddes, dooe remayne in confirming this testimonie.

Howe manie were at the ascēcion of Christe.

¶ Whan Origene had saide all this,

he foorthwith began there, and disclosed the aunſweres of Apollo made at Delphos, affirmyng Jeſus to bee God. Afterwarde he recited and declared the prophecies as well of the Hebrues as of the Sybilles and other. Laſt the promiſe of god vnto the Patriarkes, by the whiche it manifeſtly appeared, that Jeſus was Chriſt and god: and that by his temporall natiuitee he was kynge of Iſraell: and that the Jewes were his naturall ſubiectes. Whiche declaracion of Origene was ſo euident and plaine, and ſet foorth with ſuch wōderfull eloquence, deuocion, and lernyng, that it perſwaded the emperour and diuers other, whiche than were preſente, whereof I Eucolpius was one, to embrace the profeſſion of Chriſtes feithe and doctrine: for the whiche I geue moſt humble thankes vnto god, by whoſe onely grace I was called. And for that tyme the emperour gaue licence to Origene to retourne vnto Alexandria: For as muche as he durſte not attempte to publiſſhe the chriſten feithe by his auctori-

auctoritee, the persecution of christen men beynge but late cessed, and they beyng yet odiouse to the Senate and people. Notwithstandyng in his priuie closet he had the images of Christe, of Abraham and of Moyses, and beyng by him selfe he honoured one god, as I my selfe beyng often tymes secret with him, dyd well perceiue. And at the laste he made re-
Lampri dius. quest to the Senate, that there mought be made a temple to Christe: wherwith thei all were sore greued, and did obstinately denie it, saiyng, that they had counsailed with the goddes, of whom they had aunswere, that if that were suffered, all men shoulde be christianes, and all other temples shoulde be made desolate. Wherfore he ceassed his enterprise. But alway he was studiouse in the bokes of Christen men, and often tymes vsed theyr sentences. As whan any man went out of the high waie, and wolde passe through an other mans grounde, breakyng his inclosure, and ridyng ouer his corne or grasse, if he perceiued it, he woulde cause hym to be beaten

beaten with staues or roddes in his presence, after the qualitee of his trespace: or if he were a man of honour or worship, he wolde geue to him great rebukes, and saie vnto him: Woldest thou haue that dooen vnto the, that thou doest to an other? And whan a man was punished, for any suche trespace, he woulde cause it to be openly proclaimed: That wiche to thy selfe thou woldest not haue dooen, dooe not in any wyse vnto an other. Also whan cookes of the citee claimed a certayne place, which christen men had, and his pleasure was therin required, he wrate in his rescripte, It were better that god were there honoured in anie maner of facion, than that cookes shoulde haue thereof possession.

¶ Eucolpius writeth, that on a tyme he sated to hym, and to Philippe his bondeman: I perceiue, ye dooe wonder at the learnyng of Origene, wherby ye be induced to imbrace the christiane profession. Trewely the humilitee and charitee of the christen people wiche I haue heard of, and dooe daiely beholde, doe muche more stere me to beleue, that

that their Christ is god, than the residue of all his persuasion.

¶ And on a tyme whan two christen men contended proudly together, and they accused eche other of speakynge reprochefull wordes of the emperour, he called them before hym, and prohibited theim to name theim selfes christen men, saiyng: your pride and malice doe declare, that ye be not the folowers of him whom ye professe. Wherfore though ye finde lacke in me, the whiche I will gladly amende, yet wyll I not suffre you agaynst iustice, to reproue by your actes hym, whose life and doctrine ye all dooe affirme to be uncorrupted and without any lacke.

¶ whiche wordes beyng ones spread amonge the christen men in the citee of Rome, made theim all afterwarde more circumspect, and in humilitee and charitee to be the more constant.

How

¶How Mammea the emperours mother exhorted hym to be maried, & what wise aunsweres he made, and finally toke to wife the doughter of a noble and auncient senatour.

Capitulo. xxvi.

VWhan themperour was come to the age of .xx. yeres, his mother Mammea exhorted hym to take to his wyfe some mayden of a noble and auncient house, to the entent that he mought haue generacion, whiche should be for the sure tranquilitee of the citee ond empire, and to the principall comforte of hym, the Senate, and people of Rome.

¶After he had diligently heard his mother saie all that she woulde, he made to hir an aunswere in forme following: ¶I dare well saie madame, that ye haue geuen to me this counsayle, of a sincere and naturall loue, that ye beare towarde me your onely sonne. But for as muche as it is the mattier, whiche within my selfe ¶I haue muche more debated, than (¶I suppose) ye haue doen, although perchaunce

chance ye haue thought more on it, I wyll declare vnto you, howe I finde in my fantasie, that the takyng of a wife shoulde be to the publike weale and to my selfe more daungerouse than fruitefull, specially at this time. For where ye wyll me to take a mayden, if she shall be much younger than I am, perchaunce she shall not be so apt for generacion of children, stronge and lusty, as if she were of moe yeres. And I coueite not to deface the imperiall maiestee with children weake and vnlustie. Also the sturdynesse of the Romaines mate not susteine to be gouerned, but of theim, whiche as well in personage as wisedome be conuenient and seemely. If she shall be as olde, or elder than I am, than shall I bryngе my selfe to muche vnquietnesse and trouble of minde. For ye knowe well, it is not yet passyng foure yeres agone, that the abhominable monster my kynsman Heliogabalus, lefte not onelie the citee of Rome, but also all the countrey of Italie so polluted with detestable lecherie, that with muche

the difficultie mought one finde an house, wherin had not been committed some kinde of that vice, either voluntarie, or els by inforcement.
Wherfore if I shoulde marie one of the saied citee or territorie, although I found hir by fame and experience a maiden, yet shoulde not that discharge my mynde of suspicion: thinkyng alwaie, that she was rather so kept by restreincte of libertee, than by hir owne chastitee: Conslderyng that she dyd here or see daiely suche wanton allectiues and prouocacions to lecherie, that the custome therof did assaute the minde so continually, that it were well nighe impossible to escape vncorrupted, although the bodie by vigilant custodie abode vndefiled: And this suspicion shoulde wrappe my hert in suche melancholy, that I shoulde seldome be merie or pleasant with hir, whom for mistrust I coulde not loue perfectly. And to take a wife of any other countrey, ye know well, it hath not been the vse of Emperours, or other noble men of this citee, I suppose it hath been for

the warres, which hath and mought eftsoones happen to be, betweene vs and these outward countreis. Wherfore if the women therof shoulde be maried to the emperour and other of the nobilitee, and that soone after shoulde happen hostilitee betweene theim and those countreis, muche inconuenience mought come to the citee and publike weale, by meanes of the women in fauouryng their parentes, the meanes I will not rehearse, for offending of you and other ladies: and also sens you and all that are wise, mate soone conuerte what I meane. Finally I am determined, not to alter that custome, which is both auncient and honourable.

¶ Moreouer I can not bee sure to haue generacion whan I am maried, and than the onely cause therof is vtterly frustrate. And to me, which shall be alwaie in studie and businesse about the weale publike, the wife remaineth a rediouse impediment and charge superfluouse. Semblablie shall I be vnto hir an vnpleasaunte cumbrehouse, findyng litle idell time

to

to be in hir company: and beyng fatigate with businesse about the weale publike, I shall be lesse diligent and pleasaunt with hir, than she woulde haue me, whereof mought ensue not onely contencion betwene vs, but also matter of worse occasion.

¶ And where ye seme to affirme, that my generacion shulde be for the tranquillitee of this citee and empire, and for the comfort of me, the senate and people: Truely whan I remembre, what doughters the moste noble Anguſtus had, whom for their corrupted liuyng, and for the greefes, which he thereby susteigned, he was wonte to call theim his botches and boiles.

¶ Whan I thinke what soonnes the reuerend Aaſpatian, the wise and most vertuous prince Marcus Antoninus, the honourable Seuerus left, for their successours in the empire of Rome, which were all slaine for their detestable liuynges, O how little care I for children, ye how gladde woulde I be alwaie to lacke theim: that my benefites, whiche I entende to imploie on the weale publike, by the for-

lie or vice of my childzen be not confu-
med, men moze hatyng my name, foz
that J haue begotten and lefte vnto
theim in the ſtede of a gouernour, a
ribaulde or tyzanne foz to ſuccede
me: than they will pzaiſe me foz mine
owne charitee. O what ſozowe
Childze and peyne ſhall my ſowle ſuffer (if
there be anie care among them, whi-
che be paſſed out of this worlde)
whan J ſhall beholde with immoz-
tall eies my childe, which is of mine
owne ſubſtaunce, to abandone that
thyng, whiche J loued: to imbzace
that, which J hated: to be of the Se-
nate abhozred, of the people deteſted,
and of all fozeine pzincis diſdeigned,
and finally of all honeſt men perſe-
cuted like a ſerpent or monſter, like a
Steri- wolfe or tyger, infamed foz lecherie,
litee. purſued foz tyzannie: O happie ſteri-
litee, wherby lacketh annoiance. O
hatefull fertilitee, wherof cometh
ſickeneſſe or peſtilence.

¶ J am ſure, that ſterilitee can no
moze hurt me, but onely take from me
the name of a father, or the dotyng
pleaſure to ſee my littell ſoonne ride

on a

on a cokhorse, or to heare him chatter and speake like a wanton. And I am not sure, that fertilitee shall bryng to me any more quietnesse, than I haue all readie. For my childe beyng of suche inclination, as best shall content me, if deathe take hym from me, than shall I languish in tourmentes incurable, considering that I can not well susteigne the deathe of my seruauntes. If he liue with me, and be either a foole, a ribauilde or tyranne, than shoulde I like Edippus scratche out mine eies, rather than I wold beholde suche a monster procede of my bodie: ye rather slea hym with myne owne handes, than to let suche one to succede me. Or if he escaped me, I woide aske that onely rewarde of the senate and people, that thei wolde sacrifice him on my tumbe, whā I were buried. Therfore mother, I pray you ceasse from exhortyng me vnto mariage, vntill I be therto better disposed, whiche shall be, whan in beholdyng one, whiche perchaunce I haue not yet seene, some affection, er I be ware, maie in me, as it hath in other,

surmounte bothe learnyng and wisedome.

¶ With these woordes the wise lady, shewing hir self as she were content, departed vnto hir lodgeyng.

¶ Not longe after, she bode the emperour vnto a supper and banckette: And against his comyng she had assembled a great number of the fairest maidens in Rome, attendyng vpon theyr mothers, or on some other auncient and sadde gentil women, whom whan the emperour beheld, he foorthwith conjected the intent of his mother. Notwithstandyng he moste gentillie countenaunced theim all, and shewed hym well content with their compaule, although it were not correspondent vnto his fantasie. But after he had eaten, and dronke more wine than he was accustomed to doe, beyng chauffed in bodie and spirite, in rastyng his eies hither and thither, he at the laste beheldc an excellent faire maiden, named Emmia, which was doughter of a noble man called Sulpicius. And after he had deuised with hir, and founde hir to be wise, sobre,

and

and of singular humilitee, he muche loued hir, and at the laste by the continuall prouocacion of his mother, and consent of his counsaile, he maried hir: but she died shortely after, wherwith he toke no litell discomfort saiyng oftentymes: So great a treasure as I haue loste, a man seldome fyndeth. Death were gentill, if he toke nothyng but that that offendeth.

¶ Eutropius will not be knowen, that he had ante moe wiues: but Lampridius vseth the authoritee of one Despippus, who saieth, that Alexander has an other wife, who was doughter of one Martianus. But whan it was founde, that he woulde haue slayne the emperour by treason, he was putte to deathe, and his doughter separate from the emperour.

Herodianus affirmeth, that all that was dooen by the malyce of Mammea the emperours mother, without other cause, onely because she coulde not susteyne hir sonnes wyfe to be called Augusta, and therfore she caused hir to be exiled into Affrica, and all the landes and goodes of hir father,

Mammea toke and conuerted vnto hir owne profite: whiche reporte I suppose vntrue, consyderynge that Mammea was so wise and vertuouse a ladie: and beeyng well instructed in Christes religion, knew well, how detestable vnto god is enuie and crueltee.

## ¶ Of the seueritee that Alexander vsed, as well towarde theim that were proude, as to them that were malapert and did not their duetie. Cap. xxvii.

ON a tyme he beeyng Censor or correctour of maners with Julius Paulus and Callidius Rufus, and walkyng in the stretes of Rome with a few other disguised like communers: he happened to meete with a senatours sonne, hauyng with hym a great traine of ponge men: whom he, and thei that were with him saluted, doyng to him reuerence: the yong man beheld them disdeignefully, and with a proude countinaunce, without saiyng any thyng: and they whi-

che

the were with hym did also the semblable. Wherfore the emperour at his retourne home to his palaice incontinente discharged the father of the saied ponge man, out of the Senate, saiyng, that he was not woorthie nor meete to be of that reuerende companie, wherby the weale publike ought to be gouerned, and the emperour hym selfe to be chiefly counsailed, sens he had so ill brought vp his soonne, that not onely he hym selfe lacked humanitee, and extended a more stately facion than perteined to his degree, but also by his exemple causeth them that were with hym, to embrace pride, whiche is capitaine of vices, and chiefe confounder of all publike weales.

¶ Soone after he sent for the saied younge gentilman and his companions, and sharpely rebuked them, saiyng, that pride is the moste horrible monster, and of all men so hated, that it is not hadde in detestacion of good men onely, but also to theim whiche be proud, thei that be lesse proud be in deede of all other most odiouse. And as

as pride sleeth loue, prouoketh disdeigne, kendleth malice, confoundeth Justice, and subuerteth weales publike: so gentilnesse and affabilitee doe stere vp affection, augment beneuolence, incende charitee, supporte good equitie, and preserue moste surely countreis and citees.

¶ And after that he had charged the to abandone and leaue the saide vice and other, and to embrace vertue and gentill maners, whereby thei shoulde acquire more estimacion than by high countinaunce: and menacyng theim, that if the saied fault were eftsoones spied in theim, he woulde not onely exclude theim from hope of all dignitee, but also from the name of nobilitee, and put theim in the noumbre of the base communers: and so he lette theim departe.

¶ This sharpe correction aualed many a proud hert, so that by custome of gentilnesse, pride was so muche abhorred throughout the citee, that if any man, perchaunce by a naturall habite or faction, or vnaduisedly, and not of a purpose, seemed to them that beholde

helde hym, to haue a proude countrinaunce, he was either laughed at, or disdeignefully wondred at, so that he was constreigned, hadde he neuer so sturdie a courage, to be ashamed. Wherof proceded a prouerbe: Skanes and bondemen haue onely this libertee, to vse a proude countinaunce, because they be shameleſſe: and noble men be knowen alwaie by their gentilneſſe.

¶ It was not longe after that the emperour lokyng out at a window of his palaice, perceiued certaine gentilmen, exercisyng thē selues in wrastlyng, rennyng, and leapyng, to whom came certaine communers of the base people, and without any signe of reuerence, or askyng leaue, mingled theim selues with the gentilmen, and malapertely enterprised to contende with them in those recreations, with arrogant bostynges and woordes of presumpcion. And whan the gentilmen, beeyng therwith offended, bade theim bee contente with theyr degree, and elles where to passe the tyme with theyr compantons and equalles: the saied communers, taskyng

kyng that in despite, with countinãce braggyng and sturdie, proudly made aunsweare: that euerie of theim was better able to liue, and had more abundaunce to vse liberalitee, and to haunt pleasures, than the best of the other. And if the emperours garde had not come the sooner, the communers had fought with the gentilmen, and put theim in daunger, for they were moe in noumbre.

¶ This as it hapned the emperour beholdyng, toke therewith a vehement displeasure, beeyng therfore so angrie, as erst he was neuer. Wherfore he caused the saied communers to be kepte in saufegarde, and streictly commaunded, that nothyng that was dooen shoulde be rehersed, vntill he had further declared his pleasure. And foorthwith he sent for the Prouoste and Tribunes, and required theim to sende their ministers to summon all the communers of Rome beyng men, to be the secounde date folowyng in the Theatre of Pompei, where the emperour in his owne persone woulde also be presente, and declare

clare to theim thynges concernyng the moste daungerouse state of the weale publike.

¶ The emperours commaundement accordyngly was executed. And a haulte pase made at the ende of the Theatre, where the emperour should sitte in his maiestee, that all the people might plainely beholde, and perfectly here hym.

¶ For the Theatre was a place made in the fourme of a bowe, that hath a great bente. And in all the rounde part were many benches one behinde an other, and ouer an other (for it was narrowest beneth, and vpwarde grew larger and larger) And there sate al the people. At the straite ende, which was to the other parte as the stryng to the bowe, were the seates of the Senatours, and behinde theim of the gentilmen. Theatre.

¶ At the tyme appointed, the people beyng in the Theatre, as they were commaunded, the emperour came, accompanyed onelie with the Prouoste and Tribunes, leauyng all his garde at the gate of the Theatre.

As

At his comyng all the people did rise, and with most ioyouse acclamacions, did salute hym: but he contrarie to his olde custome, with a displeasaunt countenance passed by theim. wherat thei were not a littell abashed, & with hertes full of a louyng dreade and cōstant silence, prepared their eares to here attentifly, what the emperour wolde saie: who after he had long beholden the people, at the laste with a graue countenaunce full of maiestee, he spake vnto theim as hereafter followeth..

¶ The oracion of the emperour Alexāder to the people of Rome. Cap. xxviii.

We wote not how to beginne to speake vnto you, for we know not by what name we shall call you. For if ye were Senatours, we wolde call you fathers: if ye were gentilmen, we wold call you frēdes: if ye were as ye should be, good communers, we wolde call you good people of Rome, as we were wont to doe. But sens election hath not made you sena-

senatours, nor nature gentilmen, nor your merites good communers, we be in no litteli bouht what we shall call you. For if we shoulde call you Romaines, we feare, leaste Romulus, of whom proceded that name (if he be deified, as ye dooe suppose) beyng therwith offended, will be auenged as well on vs as on you, for abusyng his glorioule name on suche people, whiche goeth about to dissolue this noble empire, destroy this citee, whiche he first began with his most excellent prowesse and wisedome: and that worse is (if any thing maie be worse) extinct vtterly the moste honourable and glorioule fame of this citee and people thereof, whiche hath perced the clowdes, flowen ouer the high mountaines, and passed the perillous seas and large riuers, ronne through the great desertes and wildernesses, and touched the furthermost boũdes of the worlde. We will therfore omitte to call you by any name, vntil we can finde one meete and accordyng vnto your merites.

¶ Perchaunce at our comyng, ye be-

hol-

holdyng our countenaunce towarde you more straunge than it hath ben, thought that we were meued with some priuate displeasure, for some thyng touchyng our person: or that we were altered from our late temperaunce, vnto a tyrannie, conceiuyng suspicion of our nature, by the remembraunce of that monster our late predecessour, forasmuche as we bothe came of one linage, whiche I denie not. Truely, if this were your fantasie, we will soone acquite our selfe therof, and sette all your mindes at a more libertee.

¶ We will sate this muche vnto you, as touchyng our persone and familie, no man with woordes hath offended vs, no mā hath taken ought from vs, no man (that we knowe) hath gone about to betraie vs: nor there is any other thyng priuatelie dooen to our incommoditee, that hath displeased vs. And as for our accustomed maners, which did content you, we haue not, nor intende not to alter theim. Tirāny, as we haue euer had it in extreme detestacion, so dooe we nowe

most

most abhorre it. The corrupte nature of our predecessour had neuer place in vs. One gardeine at one tyme bringeth foorth both poison and holsome medicine. We see one woman, whiche by one man hath manie children, of theym some be fayre and personable, some ill fauoured and croked, some be wise and apte vnto doctrine, other be fooles and dull witted; one is courageouse and hardie, an other is a dastarde and cowarde, this childe is gentill and inclined to vertue, the other is fierce and wrapped in vices. This is not a rare thyng, but in dately experience. If this diuersitee happeneth to be in one gardein, and in the generacion of one father and also one mother: than maie we well escape the cause of your suspicion: we and Heliogabalus haue diuers fathers and diuers mothers, and they as diuers in theyr conditions, as ye your selues can beare witnesse, whiche haue knowen and seene proued the chaste liuing, sanctimonie and prudence of our reuerend mother, and in what honestie and vertuouse

discipline, she hath nourished vs, and brought vs vp, vnto the tyme that by god we wer called vnto this dignitie. This ought to be enough, as well to persuade you, that neither any thyng concernyng our selfe hath moued vs to displeasure towarde you, as also to exclude out of your myndes all suspicion of tyranny.

¶ Now shall ye know the very cause why we be discontented with you. For although we saied at the beginnyng, that ye went about to dissolue this empyre, destroy this citee, and extincte the glorioufe fame therof, whiche in dede is the cause of our displeasure and heuinesse, yet in those generall wordes, ye dooe not perceiue (I suppose) what we meane therby. Wherefore take good heede, and ye shall here it declared more spectally.

Romulus. ¶ After Romulus had builded this citee, he by his diuine reason considered, and (as I doubt not) in the tyme of the buildyng experience declared, that in a confuse multitude of people, they beyng of diuerse wittes and condicions, yf order lacked, there mought

mought not be a perpetuall concorde, but by continuall variaunce and discorde) the people of necessitee shoulde be compelled either to abandone the citee, and deuidyng theym selfes, to seke for sundry places to dwell in: or abidyng there in continuall sedicion, shoulde shortely and easily be subdued or destroyed by theyr neyghbours dwellyng about theym. Wherfore he ssuyng of a gentill and noble house, excellyng the residue of the people in noble courage and fineneſſe of witte, firſte deuiſed and ſtabliſhed this order, that the companie, which he had aſſembled as well of theym, whiche he had brought vnto hym as of thoſe, whiche he out of diuers partes had allured with hym, ſhoulde generally be called Romaynes for euer: And that of theym ſhoulde be three ſtates or degrees, euery one of theim neceſſarie for the weale publyke of his noble citee, in theyr ſundrie adminiſtracions, duetties and exercises.

¶ To the firſte ſtate he chaſe out of the whole congregacion one hundred of men auncient in yeres, whiche in

moderacion of liuyng, ſobꝛeneſſe of maners and ſharpneſſe of witte, were of the pꝛincipall perſonages of all that noumbꝛe. Of theym he oꝛdeyned and ſtabliſhed a counſayle, wherby the affayꝛes of the citee, and appendaunces therof, ſhoulde be ruled and miniſtred. And theſe counſaylors foꝛ their age ſhoulde be called Senatours, (foꝛ Senes in latine are olde men) not withſtandyng beyng ſaluted oꝛ ſpoken to, they ſhuld be named fathers. Alſo the college oꝛ compayny of theym was incoꝛpoꝛate by the name of the Senate.

Senatours.

¶ Moꝛeouer, of this colledge ſhoulde be elected the great iudges and officers in the weale publyke, to whom ſhoulde be committed the determinacion of iuſtice, the execucion of ceremonies and ſolemne ſacrifices, and other authoꝛitees, whiche doe belong vnto gouernaunce. Wherefoꝛe he woulde that in this ſtate there ſhould be a maieſtee: whiche of all other men ſhoulde be had in a ſingular honour and reuerence.

¶ Semblablie like as this ſtate was

oꝛdei-

ordeyned for counsayle and gouer-
naunce, so elected he out of the residue,
whiche were lustie in yeres, valiaunt
and hardie, a greatter numbre, whom
because in warres thei shoulde be on
horsebacke, he called theym Equites, Equites
and the order he called Equestris, to Eque-
theim should chiefely perteine the de- stris.
fence of the citee against the inuasion
of enemies, with other small admi-
nistracions, about the necessarie pro-
uisions and ornamentes of this no-
ble citee.

¶ And this state also would he haue
honoured of the rest of the people.
And to the intent that they shoulde
be knowen from other men, he assi-
gned them to weare a ryng, and to
beare in their handes iauelins, wher-
of afterwarde they were called Qui- Quirites.
rites, whiche in the olde tonge of this
countrey signified speare men. Of
this state shoulde be elected the Se-
natours, whan the iuste noumbre of
the Senate decaied.

¶ The thyrde state was of the base
people or communers: to whom seue- Comm
rally shoulde not be committed any mons.

 autho-

aucthoritee, but shoulde applie theyr occupacions, and be readie to execute the statutes and ordinances made by the Senate: Also be obedient to the great officers, in that whiche pertey-ned vnto the weale publyke: Moreouer when warres required, that thei shoulde goe foorth, than to be obedi-ent and diligent at the commaunde-ment of their capitaines and leaders. ¶ This ordre being stablished by Ro-mulus, as longe as in euery degree it was duely obserued, howe meruai-lously did this citee prospere, ye how wonderfully did a few Romaines in regarde, not onely defende this little territorie, against the great noumbre and puissaunce of diuers and sundrie people, confedered against thiem, but also beate thē backe vnto theyr owne houses, entred into theyr citees, de-spoiled theim of their substaunce, and also compelled theim not onely to de-sire perpetuall peace, but moreouer at the last to become their subiectes and tributaries? And whan this good ordre beganne to be broken, your state aspiring to gouernaunce and rule,

where

where ye were ordeined to obeie onely: what pere can ye finde clere from sedicion and discorde amonge you? who can noumbre the Romains, whiche haue ben slaine in the ciuile warres and commocions? Who coulde without teares recite the dolorouse astate of this citee in the time of Cinna and Marius, whom for disdeine that ye had vnto the nobilitee, ye dyd eleuate vnto the higheſt dignities? By this your disorder came vnto the citee sundrie calamitees. Ye chase Caligula to be your emperour: and where mought there be founde a more horrible tyranne? in the whiche name he so muche delited, that lokyng in a glasse, he wold most diligently forme his visage vnto the moste terrible faction? Also in recompence of your kindnesse he wished, that all the people of Rome had but one necke, that he mought strike it of at one stroke. Caligula.

I am ashamed to reherse my predecessour and kinseman Heliogabalus, the detestable vessell of abhominacion. But ye ought to be more ashamed, that ye setting aparte so greate Heliogabalus.

a numbre of honourable personages, as were than in the senate, for their experience wisedome and prowesse, woorthie euery of theym to be emperours, chase the saide Heliogabalus, a straunger borne, a boie in yeeres, a foole in regarde of their wisedome, to be your soueraigne lord: who brought you to the most vile subiection that any people were in the worlde? For is there any thinge in mankynde so vile, as to be vnder the condicion of brute beastes? What beast can ye name, that will suffre in his presence an other beast to occupie in the acte of generacion his, whom he hath chosen for his make and companion? but to his power will resiste and fight with hym. Heliogabalus beide you in suche captiuitee, that partely to auoyde his displeasure, partly to flatter him, and gette somewhat of him, ye not onely suffred him to abuse your wyues and your children, suche as beste lyked hym, but also increaced your bordell houses, and with open eies lette your wiues and your children daiely and nyghtly to haunte theim,

theim. And openlie in the ſtretes (whiche I abhorre to rehearſe) to apprehende men, and prouoke theym to lecherie.

¶ I omitte for the ſhortneſſe of tyme, many ſuche other elections, whiche haue proceded of your groſſe and preſumptuouſe wittes, after that ye had tranſgreſſed the ordre, wherin Romulus lefte you, and exceded the termes of your office or duetie: Whiche at the laſt was perceiued by you (as I dyd ſuppoſe, whan ye beyng tedious of that beaſtely licence, whiche that beaſte Heliogabalus gaue freely vnto you, hadde ſlayne hym, and toke me to be your emperour, although with all my power I refuſed that bourdeine, vntill I was by the Senate and you conſtreigned to take it. And than deſyred you me, to reduce the ſtate of this citee vnto the firſte order. wherabout I haue trauailed theſe eyght yeres, with not a littell peine, ſtudie and labours: beginnyng at myne owne houſeholde, to the entente that as well by the exemple of my ſeruauntes and officers,

ye and other beyng vnder my rule, mought the sooner reforme your selues, as also that ye mought the better perceiue, & be lesse offended with my seueritee.

¶ And because I did see muche ill exemple procede of the senate: also that ye were oppressed with the pride and corruption of iudges and officers, I vsing muche diligence, weded them out, and discharged them of their auctorites: ne they wente not vnpunished, accordyng vnto their merites.

¶ I purged also the state of gentilmen of ribaulde and riottours, and aduauncyng therunto other, I caused theym to be daiely exercised in actes of prowesse, or elles to here lessons in suche maner of doctrine, as thereby they mought acquire more wisedome, to be officers or counsailours in the weale publike. Onely the state of the people I did not visite, sauyng in punishment of theues: for as muche as I iudged, that ye had least libertee to do any great euyll, being (as I saide) oppressed with tyrannie. And that those vices, which were amonge you,

lyke

lyke as they were taken by the exemple of your superiours, so trusted I, that by their punisshement, the saide ill maners should be forsaken: and by the vertuouse exemple of suche honest men, as I haue put in their places, good maners shoulde be as gladdely embraced.

¶ But now I perceiue all hath happned contrarie to mine expectacion. For the sparyng of you, and the correction of my seruauntes, with the sharpe reformacion of the senate and gentilmen, hath brought you vnto suche a presumpsion and arrogauntie, that ye contend to be equall with gentilmen, vsyng no fourme of reuerence vnto theim: either that ye thinke, that I feare more your puissaunce, than I fauour their honesties: or elles that your richesse doth make you so proud, whiche ye abusyng in excessiue vsuries, ye therewith deuoure the patrimonies of many younge gentilmen, and haue made theim beggars: or by the seueritee of the auncient lawes of this citee, taken theim in bondage, and slayne theym in prons. And by

ſuche colourable rauyne, ye haue bought great poſſeſſions in Gretia, Sicile, and Spayne, wherby ye accumulate treaſours and pleaſures like to great princes.

¶ If ye thynke me to be afearde of your puiſſaunce, your opinion is falſe. For aboue all thynges I moſte deſire to die for the defence of the weale publike of this noble citee: and in deede rather wyll I die, than ſee the calamitees, which nedes muſt enſue therbunto, if order be not kept, as I before haue declared.

¶ At that woorde all the people cried with one voice, pouryng out teares from their eies, Liue moſt noble and gracioule emperour: he that woulde your deathe, let him die, leat hym be rent into pieces: our puiſſaunce ſhall not annoie you, but vnto death ſhall defende you: ye haue reſtored vs vnto life that were deade: vnto libertee, that were in thraldome: vnto honour, that were dishonoured. Liue vertuouſe emperour, and what lacke ye fynde in vs, reformme it, and we ſhall obeie you: and he that will reſiſt or re-

or rebell, let hym be slayne and drawen with a hoke thorough the citee, and throwen into Tyber. Ye be in gouernance our father, whom we chefly will honour: In age ye be our most dereft son, whom more than our owne liues we dooe fauour. And than eftsoones they cried: Liue moste gentill and rightuouse emperour.

Thereat the emperour relented, and with muche peine reteined the teares of his eies: And after he had settled his spirites and countinance, he spake than vnto theym in this wise: I am well contente, that ye haue declared, that there is yet in you some porcion of vertue, whiche geueth me hope, that neither the noble renoume of this citee begunne by Romulus, and augmented by other honourable gouernours: Nor my labours in restoryng therof, whan it was decaied, and likely to perisshe, shall fall into ruine. But if ye be constant in this affection, I truste that right shortelie the publyke weale shall flourisshe, and that this sayde citee and people shall bee in as muche estimacion as

cion as euer it was in the tyme of any of our progenitours. And now haue I found againe your old name, wherby I wyll call you: Ye children and succeſſours of the vertuouſe Romaines, I ſaie you moſt victorious people, branches of Romulus, ſubduers of realmes, ſamplers of vertue and prowelle to all the worlde, mittigate your couetous appetites, expell from you auarice, auale your highe courages, I meane in exceding the boundes of your popular ſtate, and comparing your ſelfes with your ſuperiours, be charitable and mercifull to your own countrey men, where they necelſitee maie bee relieued with your abundaunce. Be you aſhamed, that people of other countreis, people barbarous and rude, ſhoulde condemne you of crueltee, for deſtroiyng your gentilmen, the chiefe ornament and defence of this noble citee: that they ſhould reproche you of rudeneſſe and pride, in omittyng to dooe reuerence to theym, whiche dooe in order excell you. Remember, that like as if the ſtate of ſenatours dooe decaie, of the

gentil-

gentilmen are elected into the senate suche as be vertuous: so ye that shall be founde equall to theim in vertue, (for your substaunce onely can not make you gentill) shall be aduaunced to the state of gentilmen accordyng to reason. Than consider, if ye would not than also require to be preferred in reuerence.

¶ Nothyng shall more cause a man willyngly to dooe his duetie, than to thinke what ye would require of him that is inferiour vnto hym. And it hath been saide of wise men, that he, whiche would be a ruler, should first learne to be a good subiect. For truely a proude and couetouse subiecte, shall neuer be a gentill and temperate gouernour.

¶ Now haue I no more to say to you, but apply your selues with good willes to restore this citee to the auncient and most laudable ordre, as I shall endeuour my selfe by exemple and diligence, to bryng it eftesoones vnto his perfection.

¶ Thus ended theemperours oracion, and therwith he arose and departed.

ted, all the people pursuyng him with this acclamacion: The goddes immortall keepe and defende you moste noble emperour. Ye are the crowne of our glorie, of our wealth and prosperitee: hated be he of goddes and of men, that wouldе you displeasure. Dooe what best liketh you, the gods immortall defende you.

¶ The severitee that the emperour Alexander vsed in chastisyng as well the pryde of the people, as also his men of warre or souldiours. Capitulo. xxix.

After that themperour was returned home to his palaice, he decreed, that the saide communers shoulde be depryued of theyr lybertee and name of Romains, and to be deliuered as bondemen vnto the saide gentilmen, with whom thei presumptuously had contended, and so to remayne in that state, except they redeeme theym selues by makyng the sayde gentilmen, in possessions and moueables, better than they them selues were, whan they contended (for in deede

deede the saied communers were verie riche men, (as well in substaunce mouable, as yeerely reuenues) that doen, thei should be ekt soones restored vnto their libertee, addyng therto, that it shoulde not be leefull vnto the saied gentilmen, to infranchise theim in any other condicion. Finally the saied cõmuners abhorryng seruitude, incontinent redeemed theyr heades, accordyng to the emperours decrees. Whiche exemple was founde afterwarde so profitable to the weale publike, in reteinyng the ancient order, and restreignyng sedicion, which before that tyme now and than hapned, that it was thought of all men, that there was neuer decree or law made, that was more beneficiall vnto the citee. And the emperour was therfore not onely feared, but also more honoured and loued of all the people, which were good citesins and chiefly fauoured the weale of their countrei.

¶ Like seueritee he vsed to all other states, as partely it is before reherced, and partely I will now briefely declare. He so heard the complaintes Lampridius.

of souldiours against their capitaines, that if he found any capitaine in fault, he punished hym accordyng to the qualitee of the acte, without purpose to pardone hym.

¶ Like austeritee he vsed to theim that serued hym in warres. For on a time whan he heard that one of thē had doen wronge to a poore olde woman, he discharged hym of his retetiner, and gaue hym to the woman to be hir bondman, that he beyng a carpenter, shulde with his crafte and labours relieue hir. And whan the residue of the souldiers were therwith greued, he persuaded them to be therwith contented, and did put theim in feare to grudge at it. Oftentymes he discharged whole legions, neuer fearyng his armie, for as muche as neuer man coulde reproue him, that in his life any capitaine or petite capitaine toke or deteined any thyng of their souldiours wages. Whan he came to the citee of Antioche, his men of warre fell to wantonnesse, haunting womens baines, and other riotous pastimes: which beyng brought

Lampridius.

to his

to his eare, he caused theim all to be apprehended and put in prison, whiche beeyng knowen to theim, which were of the felowshippe of those that were taken, they beganne to make a commocion: Than themperour went to the place of iudgement, and caused the prisoners to bee broughte before him, the residue of men of warre stādyng all armed about him. And than beganne he in this wise: Companions in armes (so that the actes of your felowes dooe discontente you) The discipline lefte to vs by our auncetours mainteineth and kepeth the weale publike, the whiche if it be let to decaie, we shall lose as well the name of Romaines, as also the empire. We maie not suffre thynges to be dooen, which late were supported by that vncleane beast Heliogabalus. The Romaine souldiours your felowes, and my companions in warre, they haunt brothelles, tauernes, and baines in the greke facion, and therto one prouoketh an other: shall I suffre this any lenger, and not strike of theyr heades: Therwith arose a

great tumour and noise in the people. Than saied he againe: Ye that be here, crie out whan it is necessarie in battaile against your enemies, not against your emperour and soueraigne lord. I dare say, your captains taught you to vse those cries against the Polones, Germaines, and Persians, not against hym that hath geuen to you meate, liuerie, and wages. Ceasse therefore of your terrible cries, which onely be necessarie in warre and battaile, least that I with one mouthe and one voice discharge you Romaines: and yet I doubt whether I maie so call you. For ye be not woorthie to be of the people of Rome, if ye knowe not the law of the Romaines. And whan they cried lowder, and also menaced hym with their weapons, he eftsoones saied to theim: Putte downe your handes, whiche if ye be valiaunt, ye shoulde aduaunce against your ennemies: for these thynges dooe make me nothyng afearde. And if ye slea any man, the publike weale, the Senate, and people will not faile for to reuenge

bs. But whan thei brauled and murmured neuer the later, he cried to the with an high voice, saiyng: Set you hens Romaines, and put of your harneis.

¶ A wonderfull exemple, thei all puttyng of their harneise and souldiours cotes, departed euery man to his lodgeyng.

¶ There was it perceiued, how muche his seueritee profited. Whan the emperours gard brought all the standerdes into the campe, and the people theim selfes brought all their armure to the emperours palaice.

And the legion, which he had discharged, after that he was sued vnto. xxx. daies before he wente towarde Persia, he eftesoones restored into his place, and by their prowesse most specially, he afterwarde vanquished his ennemies. Notwithstandyng er he departed, he commaunded all the captaines of the saied legion to be beheaded, because that throughe their negligence, the souldiours passed theyr tyme riotously in a place of excellente pleasure, called Daphne, and had made the sedicion, they

winkyng at it.

¶ How the emperour Alexander reformed the vsurie, wherof he spake afore in his oracion made to the people. Cap. xxx.

SOone after that Alexander had chastised the pride of the common people of Rome, as before is rehersed, he hym selfe came into the Senate, and there declared the sundrie inconueniences, which had happened, as well to the citee, as vnto the countreis therevnto subiecte, by the detestable practise of vsurie, which vtterly repugneth against all humanitee, charitee, and naturall benevolence, that ought to be amonge people, that doo liue in a mutuall concorde: but moste specially amonge theim, whiche liue vnder one obedience, vnder one law or policie. The inconueniences, whiche happened, he shewed to be these. First where the gentilmen, and the more parte of men of warre, were from their cradelles brought vp in idelnesse, beyng not in-

strus-

structed in any occupacion or science, saulse onely in feates perteignyng to warre. In the tyme of peace and tranquillitee, or whan the warres be not so greatte, that they require the whole puissaunce of Rome, than they whiche be not sent foorth to battaile, some doe passe their tyme in daliance and banketting with wanton women, or at dice, and other charyouse solasyng, or in bothe with the one and the other, shortely consumyng theyr substaunce: Some dooe delite in other excessiue pleasures, as to haue great and beautifull houses, large and ample orchardes, and walkes inclosed with high and stronge walles, great pondes and meeres, conueighyng thervnto by a longe distaunce the salte watre through rockes and mountaines, and to haue in theim diuerse straunge kyndes of fisshes. In the whiche enterprises, thei also haue not onely consumed their goodes and patrimonie, but also the woorke aboue their expectation, ferre exceding their power, thei haue been constreigned to borow great summes of money.

Other there haue been, whiche of an ambicious courage, haue vsed prodigall expenses, as well in continuall feastes and banquettes, as in distributions of great summes of money amonge the people, and geuyng great rewardes to corrupte Senatours and other great officers, to atteine before their time, or not beyng woorthie, to some high place or dignitee: wherby they beeyng broughte into pouertee, haue been also constreigned to seeke helpe of other, to mainetaine their folie. All these persones howe vnprofitable thei be vnto the weale publike, reporte me vnto you, specially if ye consider also, that whan they haue borowed so muche, and the summes borowed beeyng so increased by vsurie, that they be not onely in desperacion to borow any more of their creditours, but also in the state to be greeuously punished accordyng to the lawes: than desire they some alteracion in the weale publike, than fisshe they out the ambicious courages of theim, which are in auctoritee, and betweene whom of the noble men is

enuie,

enuie, disdeigne or priuate displeasure, than seeke thei mattier of sedicion within the citee, which not beyng wisely represſed, hath at his backe diuision of partes, ciuile commocions, often tymes battaile and destruction of people. Reade the histories of Rome, and see how often they called for new tables, that is to sale, that the instrumentes & obligacions made for debt, shuld be cancelled, and those debtes acquited: and vntill it was dooen, the commocion ceased not.

¶ Now see ye, that the chiefe cause of this inconuenience, was the sated pestilente practise of vsurie, whiche as the occupiers did see the wantonnesse and prodigalitie of the nobilitee, gentilmen, and other encreace, so did thei augment it, more estemyng theyr propre lucre than the weale publike, charitee, beneuolence, or naturall humanitee. Wherfore in my iudgement suche vsurers among the Romaines ought not to be noumbred: but if they be not willyngly reformed, thei shuld be taken and vsed as pernicious enemies vnto vs all.

Here

There all the Senate, except a fewe, with one voice commẽded the zelous entent of the emperour, and offered their consentes in makyng suche a law, as should seeme to the emperour and theim expedient, for the redresse of so great an enormitee. Than one Catelius, a noble Senatour, and a man of great vertue, saied in this wise: Mine opinion is (noble emperour and reuerende fathers) that no kynde of vsurie shall be here practised within this citee, but first I would that serche be made diligently, howe many Romaines, and who they be, whiche are entred into bondes, for the paiement of vsurie: and likewise who be the creditours. And the principall debte beyng knowen, the creditours to be compelled by an Edict of your maiestee, to holde them content with repaiement of the summe or value of the thyng that they lende. And than by an ordinance of this counsaile, the saied principal debtes to be paied out of the treasure of the citee, the debtours bryngyng in pawne or suretie to repaie it within fiue yeeres vnto the treasouries.

The sentence of Catel°.

Also

¶ Also that no man shall lend money or any thyng els, whiche the debtour shall be constreigned to chaunge into money to serue his commoditee, vpon any condition bargaine or promise to haue lucre by the saied lone. And if that he doe, all his mouables to be immediately forfaited to the commune treasourie. Vsurie.

¶ Moreouer, if any Romaine shall happen to be in necessitee, by any misfortune or casualtee, or by necessarie charges, whiche he could not escape, that he shoulde come to the prouoste of the citee and treasourers, bringing with hym one Senatour, and two of the people, men not suspected of infamie, which shall sweare by the gods preseruatours of the citee of Rome, that they knowe, that the necessitee dooeth not procede of the saied ill occasions: That dooen, he shall laie in his sufficient pawne, or bringe in two hable persons to vndertake for the repaiement of the money, whiche he will borow: the treasourers shall deliuer so muche to him as to the prouoste and them shall seeme to be sufficient

cient for his necessitee.

¶ And if any other man will beneuolently lende theim that, whiche they will desire, without practise of vsurie, if the borower hath consumed his gooddes in suche folie as before is declared: that than he shall not be charged with the repaiement of that that he borowed, but that the creditour be clerely excluded from thensekqorthe, to haue for his saied lone any maner of remedie. But if constreinct or misfortune dooe cause the necessitee, and any man lende to an other for a beneuolente charitee, without any colour of vsurie: than if the debtour neglect the repaiement therof, and willyngly let the daie passe whan it ought to be paied: than he without mercie to sustaigne the rigour of the common lawes of the citee.

¶ And so this lawe beeyng well executed and neuer omitted, we shall neither haue vsurour dwell in this citee, nor gentilmen landlesse, nor persones seditious, whiche shall be able to annoie the vniuersall weale publike.

¶ Now ye haue heard mine opinion,

wherto

wherto ye maie adde or make some thyng lesse, as it shall seeme beste to your excellent wisedomes.

¶ Than the emperour desired Gordian, an auncient senatour, who is named before, to shew his opinion, and he risen out of his place, pausyng a little, saied in this wise.

The sentence of Gordiã, Counsaile in makyng of laws

¶ I learned, whan I was yonge, noble emperour and fathers, that he which shall geue counsaile, specially to the makyng of lawes, ought to consider. iiii. thynges, That his counsaile be honest, that it be necessarie, profitable, and possible. Three of theim haue been remembred by Catelins Seuerus, the fourth it semeth that he had forgotten. I dooe well agre, that the thyng that he wouldo haue dooen, is charitable: and therfore is honeste, also that it is necessarie to represse the riottouse and prodigall liuing of gentilmen: it is profitable vnto the weale publike, to haue all occasions of sedicion, and seedes of warre ciuile to be extirpate. And truly no better deuise mai be found, then Catelins, accordyng to his great learnyng

nyng and wisedome, hath right well declared. But let vs see, if the reliefe appointed by Catelins, for thē whom he nameth woorthie to haue it, shall be alwaie certaine and possible. And if not, than must we in steede therof, finde some other prouision more certaine, though it be not so easie, that good men in their vnwillyng necessitee be not disapointed.

¶ Is it possible trow ye, that the common treasure shall be alwaie abundaunt, that is to saie, able to furnisshe all thynges necessarie for the weale publike, and in the ouerplus to be also sufficient to relieue the saied priuate necessitees? Consider the greatnesse of this noble empire, the great noumbre of realmes, countreis, and citees, whom the prowesse of our noble auncetours hath by force constreigned to be subiecte vnto vs, and by force we kepe and reteine theim. Thynke you, that they all will euer remaine in peace and tranquillitee? Doo you not knowe, that all liuyng thynges desire libertee, and mankind most specially? Remembre you not, that

that will constreigned, seketh euer oportunitee to slippe of his colar? Forgette you, that almost yesterdaie the Moores began to rebell, and had shaken of their yoke, had thei not ben quickely repressed by Furius Celsus? Also the great countrey of Illiria, from whence we haue our chiefe men of warre, made late a commocion, whiche had ben no smal daunger and losse to this empire: had they not ben valiauntly and wisely pacified and brought in good order, by the noble capitaine Varius Batrinus, kinsman vnto your maiestee most noble emperour. Armenia was in perill to be lost, if it had not been well defended by the prowesse of Iunius Palinatus. And it is doubted of some, whether the Germains wil continue the leage that they made with vs. It is priuily muttered among the people, that Artaxerxes kynge of Persia, dooeth gather much people and treasure, intending not onely to subdue all Armenia, but also the whole countrey of Asia, vnto the sea of Pzopontis, which deuideth Asia from Europa, claimyng it in

it in the auncient right of the kynges of Persia. What other people will dooe, we be vncertaine: As vncertaine be we, what treasure wil be sufficient to furnishe all thynges necessarie against those perilles. Ye we be not so sure of our prouinces and auncient dominions, from whens we haue our yerely reuenues, pensions, and tributes: but if other rebell, and preuaile against vs, (whiche the goddes forbedde) puissaunce failyng vs, & good fortune forsakyng vs, it is to be supposed, that they will rather paie nothyng than ought, be also gouerned rather by their owne countrey men, than by vs that be straungers.

¶ Than what haue we lefte vs to kepe this noble citee, to defende vs, our children, our wiues, the temples and aulters of goddes immortall, if our common treasure be not riche and abundaunt, wherwith we maie gette succours in some place, prouide vitailes sufficient, and strongely fortifie our munitions and fortresses? Also we be not sure, where warre shall assaile vs, either by lande or by sea, if it hap-

it happen to be by the land, yet know we not, whither it shall be in diuers countreis or one: if in sundrie countreis, than must we haue diuers armies, and diuers prouisions, accordyng as the state of the countreis requireth, some beyng feruently hotte, some exceedyng in colde, the one full of mountaines vnapte for cariage, the other thicke of wooddes: this lackyng freshe water, that drowned in fennes. If it be on the water, then be the charges greatter and muche more vncertayne, shippes with theyr takelyng and ordinaunce aboue all other thynges beynge moste costely, and oftentimes ere theyr ennemies mete them, they bee either deuoured with stormes, or by contrarie windes constregned to renne on quicke sandes or rockes. Wherefore we muste alwaie haue a great noumbre of shippes in makyng, and a great noumbre of persons reteigned to furnisshe theim.

¶ I wyll not omitte the moste necessarie prouision of graine for this citee, whiche oftentimes by scarcitee in the

countreies adioignyng vnto vs, we haue ben compelled to make in countreis farre distaunt from vs at verate high prices: whiche if the lyke necessitee happen vnto vs, vndoubtedly it will exhaust wonderfull treasours.

These thynges considered, it shall seeme (I doubte not) expedient, that the common treasure remayne alwaie vntouched, but onely for commune necessitee: the incertaintee whereof prouetb it impossible, that the common treasure shall be euer sufficient to relieue the priuate necessitee of thē that are spoken of, sence misfortune, and other constreigned meanes vnto pouertee, shall euerie daie happen to some man. Wherfore now let vs deuise a more certaine prouision.

¶ And truely few men haue so muche compassion and charitee (the more pitee is it) that they wyll lende theyr gooodes to an other man, haue they neuer so muche, excepte therby maie returne to thē some aduantage or profit. And to cōstrigne them to lend (except it were for defence of the weale publike) it were against iustice. wher-

fore

fore finally this is my sentence, let a certaine gaine be limitted by themperours maiestee, which being thought by vs tollerable to the borower, and competently sufficient vnto the creditour, let it be declared by the Tribunes vnto the people, with the residue, whiche was indifferently and wisely diuised by Catelius Seuerus, And I doubte not, but that it will lightly passe & be inacted by all their voyces. ¶This oracion and sentence of Gordiane was well commended, as well of thē emperour, as of all the senate. In conclusion, after a little debating, it was appointed by the emperour, that the creditours shoulde haue for the forbearyng of euerie Sestertium (whiche in englisshe money of olde grotes, wherof .viii. made an ounce, amounteth to .iiii. li. .xvi. s. viii. d.) for euery daie lone, the thirde parte of As, called Triens, whiche was the thirde parte of an olde Romane penie called in latine Denarius, which was the poise of an olde englisch grote: and so the vsurie for the whole yeere amounted in Romaine money to, xii. d. Sestertium. As. Triens. Denarius.

one As, and .ii. Trientes, in accompte of englisshe money. xii. grotes, the tenthe parte of a grote, and two partes of a tenthe parte deuided in three partes, whiche summe mought bee more easily coumpted by the Romaines, whiche had the sayde small money Trientes coigned, than by vs that haue no suche money. Notwithstandyng for as muche as it well appeareth, that the gayne by the lone of one hundred poundes sterlynge by the whole yere, amounted not by this rekenyng but to. iiii. li. xii. ð. and the thirde part of a grote, or there about, comptyng by the olde grotes, whereof went but. viii. to the ounce, of the money currant, wherof dooe goe. xi. grotes to the ounce: the vsurie amounteth to. v. li. x. s. vii. ð. ob. or there about, whiche will seeme to all men, not beyng vsurers, to be againe sufficient and reasonable. But nowe to retourne to our matter.

¶ This sentence of the emperour and senate beyng declared by the Tribunes, as it was appointcted, all the people with most ioieouse spirites, and as

loude

loude as they coulde crie, consented, that it shoulde be made a law perpetuall in euerie poincte, accordyng as the emperour and Senate before had deuised it. Wherupon incontinent the acte was drawen and published, as hereafter foloweth.

## ¶ The lawe concernynge vsuries, made by the emperour, Senate and people of Rome. Capitulo. xxxi.

NO necessitie be considered from henceforth in theim that consume theyr substaunce in dice playyng, outragious expenses, or lecherie: Who so euer lendeth to them, let it be at his perperdie and without hope of remedie.

¶ whom fortune peruerse, longe sickneſſe, seruice, friendshippe, disloialtee of theym that he trusted, theues or oppressours haue brought vnto pouertee, to hym leat men extende their compassion and charitee: or if his necessitee dooe constreigne hym to borowe, leat hym come to the prouost of the citee, and declare his necessitee, and wherof it proceded, hauyng

with him one Senatour, and two of the communers, persons wel knowen and credible, whiche beyng deposed, that his woordes be true and vnfeigned, and what they suppose shall be sufficient to relieue his necessitee, the Prouoste shall assigne one riche man of the citee, if the partie him selfe name not an other, to whō, or to him that is named, the prouoste shall directe his letter in the name of the senate and people, willing hym to deliuer to the saied person, the sūme that he needeth, takyng of him sufficient suretie for the repaiement of the sūme that he lent, with the increace for euerie date sparynge of one Sestertium xii. Romaine pence, one As, and. ii. Trientes, and so after that rate in all other summes aboue the sūme of Sestertium, and not to excede that gaine in any maner condicion.

¶ He that refuseth to lende for this gaine, let him as vnworthie the name of a Romaine, or to take any benefite by the weale publyke, be of the Censors depriued of the name of a citesin, and noted for euer with the crime of

ingra-

ingratitude.

¶ This lawe decreed by the Senate, inacted by the people, confirmed by the imperiall maieſtee, be for euer eſtabliſhed, and neuer by anie other lawe, cuſtome, or ordinaunce to be aboliſhed. And who that with violence reſiſteth againſt it, let him be taken for rebell and ennemie vnto the weale publike.

¶ What loue and beneuolence the emperour ſhewed to the people of Rome, and of other his wonderfull vertues.

Capitulo. xxxii.

YE haue hearde muche declared of the vertuouſe ſeueritee or ſharpeneſſe of this noble emperour Alexander, nowe ſhall you here as muche of his gentilneſſe, pacience, and affabilitee.

¶ After the ſayde acte was proclaimed throughout Rome and Italie, the emperour callyng to his remembrance, that the ſayde law was made onely for them, which hereafter ſhuld be conſtreigned to borowe, and that

there were many at that tyme in danger, whom by that acte shoulde take no benefite, he beyng moued with pitee, caused sodeinly serche to be made by the Censors, how manie were in the daunger of vsurie. And than sent he for all the vsurers, and after that he had a little blamed theim for their auarice and ingratitude towarde theyr countrey, at the laste, alteryng his countenaunce and speeche vnto a more mildenesse, he desired theym all at his contemplacion, to take for that time their principal summe that was borowed, and clerely to remitte all the residue, promisyng, that the money shoulde be paied to them out of his treasure. Whiche request of the Emperour was pronounced in so gentill a facion, that the creditors with one voice not onely granted vnto it, but also promised to remitte part by his arbitrement, where he thought conuenient. whiche the emperour moste thankefully takyng, gaue the creditours leaue to departe, commaundynge theim to kepe the thyng secrete, vntill they knew more

of

of his pleasure.

¶ Than commaunded he, that all suche as were ronne in the daunger of vsurie, should be warned to come before hym, not at one daie or tyme, but first they, whiche were reputed and knowen to bee men of honestie, and by some misaduenture were brought vnto pouertee. And beyng truely certified, what gooddes or landes they had in possession, he remembred to theim what perill thei were in, and lamented the state of the citee, that the gentilmen, by negligence or lacke of good housebandrie, shoulde be in bondage and captiuitee vnto the communers, whiche ought to be inferiours to theym, and dooe to theim reuerence. O sayde he, where is the noble courage of Romulus progenie? Who foloweth Quincius, Publicola, Curius, Fabritius, noble Senatours? Whiche after that they had vainquished princes, and atchieued sundrie great victories, been diuerse times Consules and Dictatours, the highest dignitees within this citee, they liued so moderately, that rather

than they woulde be subiectes to the auarice of other, thei chase to liue in poore houses of husbandrie out of the citee, with a potte full of wortes, and suche a small a pitaunce for theim and their wiues, as now our seruauntes woulde disdeigne to be fedde with. And lest abundance at any time, should prouoke them to liue more delicately, they refused not onely great summes of money sent to theim by strangers, but also possessions offered theym by the Senate and people, for their indeuour and labours about the weale publike.

¶Thus I saie vnto you, whom although misaduenture, or charges inforced, haue exhaust some or the more parte of your substaunce or patrimonie, yet haue ye not therfore abated your diete, nor absteigned from pleasures, nor minished your familie: but without vsyng good husbandrie, and without circumspection, haue contrary to the saide honourable senatours, chosen rather to spende your olde age in miserie, and to be in bondage vnto your inferiours, than ye wold reteine in capti-

in captiuitee your wanton appetites.
¶ But here, whan the emperour perceiued, that they were aſhamed and made heuie countenaunce, than ſaide he vnto theym: Would ye not gladly be eſteſoones at libertee, at the leaſt waie out of the daunger of vſurie? They with a voice moſte lamentable aunſweared: Ye noble emperour. Will ye (ſaied he) with good wyll paie to your creditours the principall duetie, hauyng time conuenient, that it maie be leuied of your poſſeſſions, hauyng lefte vnto you ſome portion to liue on? Thei aunſweared: Ye noble prince, elles were we vnhappie. Notwithſtandyng among them were ſome, and not many, whiche had not lefte either gooddes or poſſeſſions to paie the whole duetie. Than the emperour withdrue hym into his chambre, and cauſed theym ſeuerally to be brought vnto hym one after an other, and according to their ſubſtaunce in poſſeſſions or mouables, he rated the to paie of the principall debte, ſome all, ſome more, and ſom leſſe. And becauſe they had not the money than readie,

redie, he promising to discharge them of the saide paiementes by their consentes, assigned to theim, whiche had possessions, two partes thereof, and the third part he reserued to him selfe vntill the summe were therof receiued: Wherto thei were rated.

Of theym that had gooddes and no possessions, he appointed that the summe, whereunto they were rated, should be valued in their sayde mouables by their owne frendes, and bee brought vnto some place, wher by the emperours officers it should be receiued. And ere they departed, he caused in their presence, euerie summe to be seuerally tolde out of his cofers. And than sente he for all the creditours, and puttyng theym in remembraunce of their gentill promise made vnto him, and declaryng also what he had dooen: he caused euerie mans portion accordyng to the saide rate to be deliuered vnto theim. And for theim whiche had neither good nor possessions, he paied halfe of the principall debte out of his owne cofers, with a clere acquitaunce vnto

the

the partie. And commaundyng the creditours, to bryngе to hym cancelled the obligacions and instrumentes belongyng to the saide dueties, and geuyng to theym hertie thankes, he let theym departe.

¶ Semblablie perswadyng the debtours to frugalitee or moderate liuyng, he also praied theim to foresee as muche as thei coulde, that wilfully thy committe not theim selues to the hasardes of fortune: he than imbrasyng theim all, badde theim fare well: who geuyng to him most humble thankes, and for ioie pouryng out abundance of teares, departed with glad tidynges home to theyr houses.

Diſyng debters

¶ As for theim, whiche at dice plaieynge, in riote and lecherie, had consumed their substance, he if any were lefte, caused it to be valewed, as well possessions as mouables, and to bee diuided amonge their creditours, accordyng to the quantitee of the trewe debte: And in satisfaction of the remnaunt, he adiudged them bonde: So that for a certayne tyme, as the Emperour woulde appoynct hym,

hauyng

hauyng regarde to the debte, he ſhuld ſerue one creditour, and afterwarde an other, in moſt vile ſeruices, receiuyng therefore nothyng, but onely meate drinke and clothyng, belongeyng to ſlaues. And that the creditours ſhould haue ouer theym equally as muche auctoritee as they had ouer theim, whiche they had bought or taken in battayle. Notwithſtanding it was at the libertee of the creditours, to aquite them of their ſeruice, but not to infranchiſe theym, vntill the time were expired, which was by the emperour appointed: but during that tyme, they ware continually the habite or apparaile aſſigned to bondmen, ne were eſteemed for Romaines, nor enioied any priuilege.

¶ If they obediently ſerued and contented their creditours, at the ende of the terme, whiche the emperour appointed thei were ſet at libertee, and reſtored to their firſt eſtate and condition.

¶ But if they fledde from theyr maiſter, or contemptuouſly withſtode his commandmentes, fighting with him,

or do-

or doyng to him any notable iniurie, thei were condemned to perpetuall seruitude duryng their liues. They whiche had left nothyng to paie their creditours, to theim he appointcted a longer captiuitee, estemyng the value of his seruice as well to the facultee of the person as to his astate and condicion. As if he were verie wittie, well learned, or a perfect artificer, by reason whereof his seruice moughte seeme verie commodious or profitable. Also beeyng a gentilman, the more estimacion that he were of, the more greeuouse and odiouse to hym shuld be his seruice and punishement: Wherefore to the one and the other, lesse tyme was thought to be sufficient, than to them which wer of grosse witte, or ignorant of good occupacion, or elles base or vile of condicion. ¶ This ordinaunce beyng put in due execucion: it was thought at the first of some men to be verie cruell: but after that it was ones perceiued, what a meruailous frugalitee or temperaunce of liuinge, was sodeinely founde, as well in the citee of Rome, as al-

as also throughe out all Italie: Also what delite men tok to be seen theym selues moderate in apparayle, honest in liuyng, also exercisyng theym selues in pastymes conuenient, not dishonest or chargeous. Also to haue them in derision, whom they founde in any maner of wise attempting the contrarie. Than extolled they the excellent witte and vertue of the moste noble emperour. And where afore thei called hym cruell & tyrannous, thei ceassed not to name him equal to the goddes, most benigne and most gracious, confessyng, that had not ben his seueritee, they all with the citee and empire had vtterly perisshed.

¶ Of the circumspect curiositee of the emperour Alexander in admittyng counsaillours. And of his answeares touchyng that matter. Capitulo xxxiii

The incomparable diligence of this noble emperour about the weale publyke, is to be meruailled at, and of all princes to be obserued and folowed. For what by his owne

owne trauaile and excellent prudēce, what by his continuall scrutinie by wise and honest espialles, he assuredly knew the qualitees, maners, & appetites of all men (excepte verie fewe) dwellyng in Rome or Italie, whiche either by reason of their possessions or substaunce, or for any other estimation amonge their neighbours, were likely to be called to some auctoritee. Also of all those, whiche in other regions and prouinces, were for some cause notable or famouse. This knowlage caused hym to be circumspect in admittyng counsailours and other great officers. As among many exemples I will declare one, wherof I my selfe can beare witnesse.

¶ After the death of Quintilius Marcellus, a man in great auctoritie about the emperour, as he was well woorthie for his singuler wisedome and vertue (in so muche as it was thought, that there was neuer a better man borne in Rome, and therfore the emperour did extremely lament his death) the noble man Frontine, whom also the emperour entirely lo-

ued, awaityng his tyme, aduaunced to hym with a commendable repoꝛte an honourable perſonage, who was named Fabius Maccrinus, to be in the place of Marcellus.

¶ After the emperour had herde and well conſidered the wooꝛdes of Frontinus, wherby was ſette fooꝛth the ancient, ſtocke from whens Fabius deſcended, his great poſſeſſions and ſubſtance, the grauitee of his perſonage, his great experience in ſundꝛy auctoꝛitees: the emperour did caſt on Frontine a diſpleſaunt countenaunce, and after that he ceaſed to ſpeake, the emperour made anſweare in this wiſe: How much hath your iudgement deceiued vs Frõtine? how could ye this longe diſſẽble with vs, I had though that ye had euer eſtemed the ſtocke by the fruite, and not the fruite by the ſtocke. No man commendeth the boughes oꝛ bꝛaunches, becauſe the ſtemme of the tree is great, longe, oꝛ ſtreight: but if thei be well ſpꝛeading, thicke of greene leaues, and well ſet with good fruite, than men ſaie, that tree hath a faire toppe, that tree beareth

reth good fruite. And although the tree be neuer so misshapen or crooked, the owner will digge about it, and vse all diligence for to preserue it: but if the stocke be neuer so faire, if the boughes bee rotten or seare, the owner will shredde theim, and throw theim into the fire. If the fruite be vnsauerie or withered, who taketh any great heede of the tree? who will gather the fruite? But rather leat theim rotte on the tree, or fall downe: for he careth not for theim. Who loueth a rotten groundsill or poste, because it was part of an ancient house? Who setteth by a ragged, a restie or ill fauoured colte, because that the harreise, wherof that kinde is comen, two hundred yeres passed wanne the price of rennyng at the game of Olympus? I confesse, that longe continuaunce in any thyng that is good, addeth an admiracion, but no praise to the thyng: all be it, the thing founden good, praiseth the continuaunce or longe enduryng therof. A good childe renueth and also augmenteth the praise of his parentes: the ill child

raseth out of mens hertes the fathers honour and benefites.

Possessions.

¶ Also great possessions or substance maketh vertue suspected, because thei be ministers of pleasaunt affections, & also nourices of wanton appetites.

¶ Moreouer, the grauitee of the personage is not proued by stately countenaunce or disdeignefull silence: but by constaunce in vertue, and woordes alwaie apte for the time and purpose. And experiẽce, which is not cõmẽded by laudable actes, deserueth no more preises, than the gate of a blinde horse about a wide horsemill, which grindeth no corne. And that old capitaine, which in many battailes & tourneis hath been founde alwaie negligent, deserueth no garlande. Many auctoritees doe require an exquisite triall, for as much as auctoritee doeth abate feare, and minister boldnesse, boldenesse draweth in licence, licence is mother of mischiefe, which needes must be suffred vntill fauour relenteth.

Auctoritee.

Licence

¶ These thynges considered, Frontinus, either your iudgement is not so perfecte as I woulde haue taken it

to

to be, or elles ye secretely winkyng at the saied faultes, haue dissembled longe with me, and kepte thynges from my knowlage, contrary to your allegeaunce and duitie.

¶ With these woordes Frontinus beyng afearde, kneled downe, and besought the emperour to pardon hym of his folie, confessyng that he had not perfecte knowlage of the disposicion and maners of the saied Fabius. But for as muche as he had been fauourable towarde him and his frendes in his ministracions, he mutually desired his aduauncement.

¶ Therat smiled the emperour and saied: Shall this plage neuer cease, whiche in realmes and citees hath so longe reigned? that mutuall beneficence blindeth mens iudgementes. And whiles power with pleasures getteth great acquaintaunce, vertue is vnknowen, and in the court friendlesse. I know, Frontinus, that pride in Fabius Maximus is a domesticall vice. For in all the house of Fabius it hath been excedyngly noted, and in some histories remembred. And in

Power

this man, as well the remembraunce of his auncient nobilitee, as his long continuance in auctoritee, hath more increased it: as I my selfe haue marked, and also heard other murmuryng at it, whan I haue secretly walked in the citee in a priuate apparail. wherfore I will not that he be in our counsaile nor palaice, that either his pride shoulde be of younge men folowed, or of olde men disdeigned, or of vs suspected.

¶ His great possessions and riches declareth, that he can not be with a littell contented, sens the more parte therof he hath gathered vnder the colour of his authoritees, beeyng not left vnto hym by his owne parentes, nor receiued of our liberalitee, nor by the gift of our predecessours. And verie seldome where honour increaseth auarice abateth. I hate not Fabius in the state that he nowe is, although I fauour not in hym the saied notable vices, but if he were neer vnto vs, we coulde neither susteine them, nor suffre him vnpunished, if he than vsed theim.

Honour

Also

¶ Also in his longe experience I neuer herde him for iustice commended: but I haue hearde his arrogance, his longe delaying of suiters, and his partialitee, of many dispraised. Truely suche a man is neither mete to be a nigh counsailour, nor to sate the truth in any great office.

¶ These thynges considered, Frontinus, speake no more of him, but serche for some other, in whom sincerite and temperaunce be ioigned with wisedome. Suche one, if he be of an auncient house shall bryng to our palaice an honourable remembraunce of his noble progenitours, and as well to noble as vnnoble shalbe an excellent paterne or president. If he be but late come to worshippe, his aduancement shall ingender in noble men an honest enuie, either to excede hym in vertue, or at the least to be iudged equall vnto hym. To poore men it shall be an allectike and roote of good hope, that thei be in the ranke, where the rewarde of vertue is dealed.

And thus ceassed thēperour to speake. And Frontinus departed, beyng both a

shamed of his enterprise, and abashed at the wisedome of his noble maister.

¶ The moste noble answere of Alexander made to Alphenus, concernyng the disablyng of Sextilius Rufus in his absence. Capitulo. xxiiii.

Lampridius.

THe emperour had a custome, whiche was verie commendable, that he neuer made any senatour, without the counsaile of the whole Senate: and euerie senatour shoulde geue his sentence. Also testimonie of his liuyng and credence shoulde be brought in by honourable personages. But if either the Senators that spake, or the witnesses were founden to haue spoken vntruely, thei were reiected in the lowest place of estimacion amonge the people, beeyng also condemned as deceiuers or forgers, without hope of remission.

¶ There was dwellyng in a village by Rome a gentilman called Sextilius Rufus, whiche was right well learned in all partes of philosophie, & also in the sciences liberall. But forasmuch

asmuch as he considered the frequent alteracion of the weale publike, with the manifolde perils and troubles in the administracion therof, he of purpose withdrew hym therfro as much as he mought, although his father had been a senatour in his life, and he amonge his neighbours and diuers of the nobilitee was had in good reputacion. Notwithstandyng for the causes before reherced, and that he desyred nothyng so muche as quietnesse of mynde, and to solace hym selfe in the most pleasaunt herbar of science: and visityng the most delectable workes of ancient writers, he seldom came to the emperours court, or resorted to plaies or banquettes, ne did come to salute the great officers nor men in auctoritee, as the vse was at that time. And among the yong galātes he was not beloued, because he fauoured not their riottouse pastimes. And the men of lawe had hym in disdeigne, because he repugned againste their subtill gloses, and blamed their auarice. Finallie, he beyng fully contēt with the golden mean, liued right honestly

honestly in a manour, whiche he had cõpetently furnished with possessions sufficiẽt for the prouisiõ of his meane housholde, which was to his neighbours more boũteouse than sũtuouse.

¶ After the emperour had pourged his palaice and the senate of vnworthy persons, corrupted with detestable vices, and with muche difficultee founde other to set in their places: It happened, that some good man named to him Septitius Rufus, declaring the common reporte, whiche he had yearde of hym. The emperour, who knew all to be true that was spoken, helde his peace not withstandyng, hearkenyng what shoulde be other mens sentences. The more parte of theim, which were present, affirmed, that Rufus, for his honestee, wisedome, and learnyng, was mete to be of the senate: but three or foure saied nothyng. At the laste Alphenus, a great lawier, and in good estimacion with the emperour, obiected, saiyng, That not withstandyng that Rufus was learned in diuers sciences, yet was he neither profoundly learned in

the

the lawes ciuile, nor muche experienced in affayres of the empire. And that his litteli husbandry, and small prouision about the encrease of his liuyng, declared hym to be a man of no great policie, nor of any dexteritee about thynges of importaunce. And that the aptitude of his nature, was onely in studiouse meditation of sundrie sciences, and in writyng more than in dooyng. Addyng to, that philosophers were neuer good practisers in a weale publike, nor yet good men of warre. Wherfore in as muche as he that is a senatour, not onely ought to be a man meete for politike gouernance, as well in geuyng counsaile in matters therto perteignyng, as also beyng chosen to be Pretor, or to anie other ministracion of Justice, not to be ignorant in geuyng iudgement in causes brought before him: but also he ought to haue some experience in marciall affaires, that beyng chosen consull, or leader of the hoste of the Romaines, he mought see the men of warre to be well instructed and exercised.

And

And that in all thynges belongyng to warre, the state of the citee be sufficiently furnished. Moreouer, that in battayle loigned either by his ignorance or baseneſſe of courage, the Romaine armie be not distroied. These thynges considered, it seemed to hym, that it was not expedient to receiue Rufus into the numbre of Senatours.

¶ The emperour hearyng Albinus, and seeyng, that no man proffred to speake after hym, except thre or foure moe, whiche were lawiers, and one Oninius Camillus a noble man, who had some displeasure towarde Rufus for one of his seruantes: these seemed by their countenances to approue the saiyng of Albinus. That perceiuyng the emperour, lokyng on Albinus, spake in maner as hereafter foloweth.

¶ I see well Albinus, that not onely the vulgare and vnlettered people be angrely stered, and doo reteine displeasure against theim, whiche without malice, doo rebuke in a generaltee the vices and fautes, whiche be founden amonge theim: but also

which

(which I doe lament) men specially chosen for their wisedome and learnyng, dooe disdeigne theim that rebuke the abuse of that studie or exercise, which these wise men most chiefly haue haunted. I know that Sextus in one of his bokes hath sharpely noted the detriment doen vnto iustice by couetouse lawiers, whiche by their subtyll wittes haue inuolued the lawes ciuile into suche obscure and ambiguouse sentences, that no man without their declaracions, may knowe howe to dooe or minister iustice in cases, for the which the saied lawes haue prouided. Nor they that make lawes can expounde theim afterwarde without a lawier, whiche perchaunce was not firste priue to the lawe makyng. These and like annotacions of Rufus dooe not a litell offende you, that be lawiers, although ye haue abandoned practise. And that displeasure onely hath caused you to make this conclusion, that Rufus is not meete to be of the Senate, the residue of your argument dooeth sufficiently proue it.

First

¶ Fyrste the diuersitee of sciences, where in your selfe dooe confesse, that he is well learned, doth not disable hym to be a Senatour, but maketh hym more conuenient and necessarie for so noble a counsaile. For to whom dooeth it more apperteine, to vse woordes in their proper significacion, and to sette them in order, so that they make not the sence peruerse or doubtefull, than to a senatour, or one hauyng rule in a weale publike: and that is the thyng, whiche Grammer teacheth?

Grãmer

Logike. ¶ Logike is none other, but the science of reasonyng, helpyng naturall witte to finde truthe more quickely out of diuers opinions, by affirmyng or denyng: which in a senatour maie not be spared.

Rhetorike. ¶ A man shall not well gouerne a cittee or countrey, and sette in good order the maners of people (as Plutarche saieth) excepte he be well furnished with eloquence, wherewith onely he maie perswade, affectuously stere, incline, and leade where he listeth the myndes of the multitude:

And

And that is beste learned by Rhetorike.

¶ How many thynges happen in the state of a citee or realme, whiche requireth a diligent and exact computacion with numbres: and that by Arithmetike is best perceiued. Arithmetike.

¶ In assignyng of boundes and limittes, also to the makyng of munitions and fortresses, also in deuisyng of engines for warres, who dare saie, that Geometrie is not expedient: whi the describeth equalitee and inequalitee, aptnesse and vnaptnes, good proporcion, and deformitee. Geometry.

¶ Also without harmonie nothyng is seemely or pleasaunt, and by conforde and discorde all publike weales doe stande and decay, ye and as some philosophers haue writē, by them all thynges had theyr beginnyng. And this is beste vnderstande by the science called Musike. Musike

¶ Moreouer he that leadeth an armie, if he be instructed in the diuerse temperatures of sundry countreis, by the naturall discourse of the sunne, by the fiue circles, the alteracion of Astronomie.

houres

houres in daye and nyght, by the distance of climes and parareles, whiche be sensible lines and spaces, wherby the sunne passeth about the firmament: Also the moone with hir mutable figures, and speciall authoritee ouer waters and humours: the naturall influence of other celestiall bodies and signes, I meane in plentee or scarcitee of thinges concerning mans sustinance, and in stormes or caulmenesse of wether: All whiche thynges be knowen by the diuine science called Astronomie. I saie if a capitaine be therein instructed, and not to muche curtouse or arrogant, he shall the more safely kepe alwaie his armie. Iulius Cæsar beyng therein exactely learned, vanquished by celeritee and sundry preuencions not onely the fortune and moste experte chiualrie of valiant Pompei, but also the incomparable wittes of fiue hundred Senatours. And our noble progenitour Hadrian the emperour was thought to haue exploited thynges in battaile by the helpe of this science aboue mens expectacion. I omitte Hercules,

which

whiche became disciple to Atlas, for the commoditee whiche he thought to finde in astronomie. Finally as ye all knowe. I haue had no litteil delite in these foure mathematicall sciences, and yet haue, for the vtilitee that I finde in them, when I doe contẽplate the perfecte state of a weale puplike: And the same is approued bothe by Plato & Aristotle, whiche shapeth their examples by portiõs of Arithmetike, Geometrie, and Musicke, where they write of Concorde in vertues, or politike gouernaunce.

¶ This well considered, a Senatour either for geuyng of counsaile, or for beyng a capitaine in warres, shall finde none impedimente, by hauyng these sciences: but vsyng them moderately, and as occasion requireth, they shalbe to him not onely and excellente ornament, but also a necessarie treasure, and to all sortes of gouernaunce a thyng right expedient.

¶ What although Septikius be not profoundly lerned in the lawes civile: is that a good argumente, that therfore he may not be a good counsailour,

or in other auctorite about the weale publike? Consisteth all the Senate of lawiers? Or standeth the weale publike, and all hyr affaires, onely by lawes all readie stablished? Maie no publike weale be without lawiers? How manie noble Senatours haue there ben, and yet are, whiche neuer radde ouer all the. xii. tables? and yet haue thei be founde to reason wittily, and minister prudently. Be lawes any thynge els than rules of Justice, whereby she commaundeth what should be done, and what ought not to be done, where a weale publike should prosper? Than is it euident, that Justice maketh lawes, and not lawe Justice. Also he that redeth the lawe, seeth the commaundement of Justice, but seeyng the lawe onely in that that he seeth it, he dooeth not knowe Justice: but contrarie wise, he that knoweth iustice, by hir maie discerne what is right or wronge, what is equall or vnequall, and by the patterne of Justice maie inuent a remedy propice and necessarie, whiche expressed in woorde or writing maie be called a

led a lawe. The knowlage of Justice either hapneth by speciall influence from the high god: or els it is gotten with the studie of wisedome, comprehended in the bokes of wise men, who of Pythagoras were called Philosophi, whiche dooeth signify the louers of wisedome. Wherfore they, whiche either by diuine inspiration, or by studie of the woorkes of excellent wise men, haue the truest knowlage of Justice, and haue beste vnderstandyng what is iust, and what is vniuste, and consequentely can prouide remedies accordyng to Justice: whiche remedies if thei ones be made vniuersall, thei be lawes, how so euer thei be pronounced, be it by a multitude or by one persone, as the Edict not onely of the emperour, but also of hym that is Pretor, is a law as well as that whiche is made by all the whole senate, or inacted by the Tribunes and people of Rome. Philosophi.

¶ And where ye saie, that philosophiers were neuer good practisers in a weale publike, nor yet good men of warre, if ye dooe meane by practise, Philosophier,

that detestable exercise, which is subtill deceiuyng, crafte enterminyng, maintenaunce of iniustice, peruerse counsailyng, and vnmeasurable gettyng, I confirme that your saiyng.

Practise For a Philosopher abhorreth suche practise, and as muche as he maie doeth & perswadeth the contrarie. But if ye doue intende by that woord practise, only the laudable exercise in the administracion of a weale publike, truely ye be in a greatter errour and folie, and doe speake as if ye wer one of the vulgar people ignorannt of letters. Ye and that more is, priuate displeasure hath caused you to forgette what ye your selfe haue seene, contrarie to that whiche nowe ye haue spoken. I will not reherse all them, whiche beynge studious in Philosophie, haue gouerned publike weales, or haue executed their ministracio ther-in substauncially: but some will I speake of.

¶ Who gouerned Aegypt and Libya more noblie, thā Hermes called Mercurius Trismegistus? And what philosopher was in all sciences equall vnto him?

him? Who euer kepte his countrey in suche a quietnesse, and made it so rich as Salomon kyng of the Hebrewes? whiche as it is fonden in their histories, trãslated + into Greke by the cõmaundemẽt of Ptholome called Philadelphus, kyng of Aegypte, was so great a philosopher, that he disputed of all thynges naturall and supernaturall: and for his wonderful knowlage there came to here him out of all partes of the worlde men and womẽ, being at that tyme in most reputacion of learnyng? Was euer this cite of Rome in so good order as it was duryng the time of Numa Pompilius? whiche was fortie yeres, who beyng an excellent philosophier, and a priuate persone, was chosen to be kyng: and so muche more is his gouernaunce to be commended, that he broughte the people, whiche were rude, fierse, and euer cõtinually in warres, with their neighbours, into so good an order and temperance of maners, that thei whiche before were their enmies, had thẽ in admiracion and reuerence? Who made better lawes, or better ordered + Their lawes

the common weale of the citee of Athenes than Solon the great philosopher, as longe as they coulde sustaine their owne welthe? The same citee had neuer a more noble capitaine, nor a more valiaunt, than Pericles: who with Anaxagoras continually studied philosophy. And to descende to a more late time: where was there a better capitaine, or a more noble warriour than Scipio Affricane? who had alwaie with him Polybius the philosopher, and in vacant times from battaile he either heard hym rede, or disputed with him.

¶ Semblably Lucullus was so studiouse in all kyndes of learnynge (as Plutarche writeth) that wheare he hearde, that anie greatte learned men disputed togethier, thither wold he goe, and studiously heare theym: and (as the same authour saieth) he haunted and imbraced all kynde of philosophie, with most familiar acquaintaunce and custome, specially that whiche was called Academica, or the doctrine of Plato. And was there euer a more noble, a more polit-

like

tyke or more valiant capitaine, and more estemed and drad of moste puis-sant princes than he was? Lord god, what a senatour was Cato, called Vticensis? whose vertue was wondered at throughe the worlde, whose magnanimitee and incomparable seuer-itee more profited vnto the publike weale of the citee, than the victories of Pompei and Cæsar. And was not he so studious in philosophie, that he coulde not temper him selfe, but muste nedes rede Greke bokes, whan he sate in the senate? What consull can ye compare to Marcus Tullius, who onely by his diuine and moste excellent wisdome preserued the publike weale and citee of Rome from vtter subuer-cion, whiche needes muste haue hap-ned by the conspiracy of Catiline and his confederates, if it had not been by the incomparable wit of Tullius founde out, and by his diuine elo-quence plainely conuinced, and by his wonderfull wisedome suppressed and cleane extinquished? And howe stu-dious he was, and exactly learned in all kindes of philosophy & eloquence,

his moſt noble woorkes doe declare with fame immortall.

¶ I paſſe ouer Nigidius, Varro, Traſea, and many other ſage and honourable Senatours, which were not onely excellent philoſophers, but alſo prudent counſailours and valiant capitaines: yet wyll I reherſe ſome, whiche were in the tyme of your remembraunce.

¶ The emperour Adryane was ſo profoundely learned in all philoſophie, that he diſputed openly at Athenes, with the chiefe philoſophiers of all Grecia, and vanquiſched Phauorinus, who at that tyme was of all other moſt famouſe: and to what prince or capitayne geueth he place, either in marcial proweſſe, or ciuile gouernāce.

¶ What more honour euer hapned to Rome, than that Marcus Aurelius Antoninus ſucceded immediately Adrian: whoſe lyfe was confeſſed to be the moſte certaine lawe vnto all people to rule or be ruled: And he for his exquiſite knowlage in all philoſophy, was moſt commonly called Antonine the philoſophier, not by reproche as ſome woulde ſuppoſe it: but for a moſte

excellent

excellent and rare commendacion.
And whut man did euermore encreace the weale publike, or better defende it, than did this most noble and vertuouse emperour? And be it of you receiued without suspicion of boste, as it shall be spoken of me without anie vainglorie: I which maie not be compared with the most inferiour of them before named, either in lerning or prowesse: yet how muche I haue amended the state of the weale publike, ye all can beare witnesse: And that I haue nothyng appaired the imperiall maiestee, it hath bene of the Senate and people in your presence confessed. And this coulde I not so well haue doen, if I had not instructed my witte with the doctrine of philosophiers.
What saie you by Gordiane, Henatus Aelius, Serenianus, Catilius, Seuerus, Frontinus, Tacitus, and Aurelianus, honourable Senatours, and our trusty counsailours? and Sabinus, whiche sitteth here with vs? haue they not ryght well shewed theym selues to be apte vnto gouernaunce, whan they haue been Consulles, Tribunes, and

Pretons: yet bee they no Lawiers, but the moze parte of theym be studiouse in philosophy, and other liberall sciences.

¶ And nowe to make an ende of this matter, wherin I haue taried the lenger, to the intent that I woulde extirpate this vaine opinion, which men haue had agaynst philosophiers, and theim that be studiouse. Truly that, whiche ye dooe note in Sextilius to be litell husbandry and small prouision, procedeth not by lacke of good policy, as ye haue supposed, but he aduisedly doeth neglect to be riche, or to aspire to any auctoritee by ambition or flatterie, preferryng temperate and sure quietnesse, before daungerous and vnthankefull labours: and more esteemeth to be an honest lyuer, than a malapert crauer.

¶ Also by the studie in philosophie it seemeth that he hath acquited a great magnanimitee or noble courage, not extending the force of his witte and knowlage in thynges, whiche are but of litell importaunce: wherein he fareth lyke to the puissaunte greyhounde,

hounde, whiche was sent to the great Alexander by the kynge of Albanie: vnto whom whan there was brought a great Bulle, he therefore woulde not ones meue: afterwarde a mightie and fierce lion was like wise shewed to him, whiche he only beheilde and moued his taile, but he woulde not therfore arise out of his place. Finally there was brought foorth a mervaillouse great Olifant: than stode he on his feete, and did sette vp his bristelles, and shewed his teeth, and beeyng comforted by Alexander, he lepte to the Oliphant, and bytte hym: and after a fewe assaultes killed hym: likewise Scipio beyng content with his astate, extendeth not his witte to augment it: but if he be fauourably called to thinges of great importãce, and therin well comforted, I doubte not, but that he will shewe, that his studie hathe not been vaynelie employed. I meruayle, that ye dooe not consider, that auctoritee and fauour not onely sheweth a good witte, but also dooeth polisshe that whiche is rude. Fullars, tailours, horsshe-

horsekepers, and martnars, were by themperour Commodus, and my predecessour Heliogabalus, aduaunced to be Consules, Pretores, and Tribunes whiche as I hard saie, were so chaūged in their wittes, that it semed vnto them, whiche knewe them before, that sauyng their visage, & personage they wer altered and made other mē, so muche in theyr woordes and procedynges they excelled aboue theyr customable wittes, all mens expectaciō. Howe muche more hope is there of those men, whiche by education & studie haue their wittes holpē? Suppose ye not, that there be within our empire thousandes of men, which being but of meane reputacion, if thei were set in autoritee, or about our persone, would set forth noble wittes equal to yours, and perchaunce better (whiche I speake not displeasantly, but onely to warne you to eschew arrogancie.) Truely god geueth wikedome, but fauour and auctoritee most chiefely sheweth it in a weale publike. Earth norisheth the roote of a tree, but the comfortable sūne bringeth forthe the blossomes:

stormes: and if stormes doe not let, he with his holsome heat ripeth ỳ fruit, and maketh it pleasant. In lyke wise studie and labour bringeth in knowlage, which by the cõfort of princes appeareth abrode in some ministracion. And if enuie or displeasure bryng none impediment: the increace of fauour maketh learning fruitfull & profitable vnto the weale publike: Ye all here my sẽtence. And for as muche as the more part of you (as I well dooe perceiue) esteeme no lasse Septilius Rufus than I doe, I will that he be sente for, & receiued into the senate, and his name regestred in the table of Senatours. wherunto al the coũsail accordyng, it was for that tyme dissolued.

¶ Howe Sextilius hearynge that he was made Prctor, fled: And what the emperour saide concernyng the mattier. Capitulo. xxxv.

After it was declared vnto the Senate, that the emperour had chosen Septilius Rufus to be a Senatour, and that he had sayd on his behaulfe, they all reioiced in the emperours wisedome and iudgement, and

and at his next commyng into the se-
nate they all did arise and gaue thank-
kes vnto him, for bringyng into that
college suche a man as Septikius was.
Soone after Septikius beyng sent for
by the emperours most gentil letters,
came into the senate, and as his learn-
uyng and honeste maners requyred,
was beloued and commended of all
men, except veray fewe, whom enuie
and priuate displeasure continually
freted: whiche the wise emperour per-
ceiuyng, to the intent that as well the
vertues of Septikius shoulde be more
knowen, and also be increased by his
comfortable assistence, as also to ma-
nifeste to the comforte of other, howe
muche he was inflamed in the fauour
of vertue and doctrine, he caused Sep-
Pretor. tikius to be chosen Pretor, whiche than
was the highest office nexte to the em-
perour, in the ministration of Justice.
Thereof hearyng Septikius, he beyng
therat abashed and meruailouse so-
rowefull, priuilie withdrew him selfe
out of the citee: and not making longe
abode at his owne house, in a strange
habite, hauynge but one man with
hym

him, went vnto Athenes, determining to passe his time there in studie vntill the fame of him were somewhat decreased, and an other chosen vnto that office. Of this the aduersaries of Septitius gathered no litteil occasion, not onely to pursue him, with mockes and derision, but also to accuse him vnto the emperour of disobedience and obstinacie contrarie to his allegeaunce, and also to blame him for his departure, without asking licence. All these accusacions the emperour herde without beyng any thyng meued agaynst Septitius, and at the laste, beholdyng the accusers with a displeasant countenance he saide vnto them as hereafter folowyth.

¶ How dare ye, thus presumtuously assaulte our patience with your false accusacions? Or howe mate ye for shame powre out your malice thus in our presence? what geueth you bolde nesse to be thus malapert in attemptyng our reason with your enuiouse persuasions? Thinke ye vs to be so dull and grosse witted, that we can not perceiue your conspiracies? or so deafe

deafe, that we can not heare your false rumours, whiche ye haue spread of Septikius? or so blynde, that we see not your cancred affections and passions sparkelyng in your eies, inflamyng your visage, blastyng out with your wordes, whiche for anger and haste, be so sette out of order, that in theym dooe appeare your detestable folie. I tell you Septikius by this his departyng, hath nothyng offended vs, or minished the opinion that we haue had of hym, but hath augmented it, and right well contented vs. For if envy and malice hath not made you forgetfull, ye maie remembre, that whan we chose him to be a senatour, one thing, wherin we commēded him was, that he neglected to be riche, or to aspire to auctoritee: see ye not how he hath confirmed my saiyng, and that I spake it not for speciall affection? he hath not onely neglected auctoritee, but that more is, he is fledde from it, whan it came towarde hym. Whan we sent for him, he came vnto vs, and beyng appointed to be a senatour, he did obey vs, and gladly applied

plied his studie and counsaile there to perteignyng: onely hearyng that he was chosē Prætor, before that he had monicion therof, he fled, as if he had been pursued with suche force, as he had not been able to strive with, fearyng (as I said, whan I preised him) the daungerous and vnthankfull labours, whiche he supposed to bee in such offices. And whither, or to whō is he fled? not to the Persians, not to the people of Barbarie, or other our ennemies: but he is peasibly gone vnto Athenes, whiche citee nexte vnto Rome we moste fauour. And there in a priuate habite he liueth in studie, in that exercise which he supposeth that he can better susteine, than the gouernaunce of a weale publike. But not withstandyng, shall we therefore reiect hym, and iudge hym vnworthie to be called to auctoritee? Nate, then were we yll aduised, and mought be noted variable in our opinion, sens we iudged hym once hable for neglectyng therof, we now deme him more hable for the refusyng: ne we will be therfore more slacke in the offeryng:

yea, we also will therto gentilly require hym. For truely auctoritee ought to be geuē to such as care least for it: and kept from them, whiche preasse fastest towarde it. For he that desireth, wolde haue it for his only commoditee: he that loketh not for it, considereth, that he is chosen for others necessitee. Therfore how diuers is their ministracīō, it euer appereth, where as both hapneth. Leaue your vaine enterprise, to bryng vs in displeasure with hym, who is woorthy more honour than we can geue hym, and by his laudable slight hath vanquished your enuie, and to your great reproche hath published your foly. We therfore cōmande you to auoide out of our presence, and that we see you not vntill we call for you.

Auctoritee.

¶ The letters of the emperour Alexander sent to Sextilius, and how vnwillyngly he returned to Rome, and receiued the office of Prefor. Cap. xxxv.

FForthwith the emperour hym selfe indited letters vnto Sextilius, in maner folowyng. Alexander Augus-

Augustus. &c. The tidynges of your sodeine departyng, honourable Septicius, was to the senate and people greuouse, to your enemies (although they be fewe) pleasant and iotouse, dolorouse to your frindes, of whom there be many: but to vs not strange, displeasant, nor meruailouse: forasmuche as we longer haue knowen your notable temperaunce, than we haue vsed your presence. Wherfore nowe we more consider your humilitee and vertues shamefastenesse, than that whiche your enemies dooe call obstinacie and disobedience. Perswade your selfe, that where before we did fauoure you, now doe we most hertily loue you, and haue no lesse ardant desire to haue the fruicion of your vertue and learnynge, than hath the true louer of his wife or companion. What such loue is, ye that haue ben at Socrates banket, do know most certainly. Returne therfore with honour gentilly Septicius, satisfy the desire of me, that am both your emperour and louer, reioice the senate and people, shame your enemies, & recom-

for your frendes. Let it suffise vnto shamefastnesse, that she hath caused you to ieoparde, not onely your estimacion and credence, but also your life and substaunce, if there had been a senate vncircumspect, a people disordered, or an Emperour a tyranne. Let hir nowe geue place to prudence and magnanimitee, hir time of rule is expyred in you, theirs is now come: for diuine prouidence hath so prouided, and willeth it be so, sens she hath called you to the dignitee, whiche ye haue well deserued. In vaine were your long trauaile in studie and learnyng, if actuall experience dyd not shewe foorth their fruites. I confesse that the bokes, which ye haue made, haue well instructed other to gouernaunce: but yet whan the publike weale calleth you, to be redie in your owne persone to serue hir, it is your chiefe office and duitie. For so God hath ordeined you, nature commaundeth you, your countreie compelleth you, and philosophie beadeth you. Returne therfore hardily, and accept with good courage, and thankefully

Publike weale.

the

the rewarde of your vertue. Ne the ministracion shall bee straunge vnto you, that in studie haue had with iustice such familiaritee, and haue rad so many bokes of good policie. Also (which ought muche to comfort you) ye haue a fauourable Emperour, experte assistentes, diligent ministers, and people obedient: ye beyng Prefor, how many men expert in that office shall desire your companie, and bee gladde to participate with you, that which experience or custome hath vsurped from learnyng? Where lawe ciuile is necessarie, among your assistentes shal euer be some, which therin shall counsaile you: but finallie, if ye haue alway respecte vnto iustice, and consider the causes with a prudent and diligent scrutinie, the great knowlage of the law ciuile shall not muche trouble you. Late therfore all dread apart, and be not sene for faintnesse of courage to forsake that, whiche the Emperour, Senate, and people, lordes of the worlde, haue with so great affection and iudgement prepared for you. Take heede of your

 helth

health, & let vs shortly imbrace you.

¶ These letters were sent by poste, and in short time deliuered to Septicius, than beyng at Athenes, in the house of Sextus Cheronensis, with other philosophers, which he receiuing with reuerence opened and radde, and in the redyng of them partly stered with the louyng persuasions of the most noble emperour, partly oppressed with dolour, seeyng that he mought make no longer defence against his election, and that he muste nedes entre the daungerouse rase of auctoritee, pight full of perils, he let the salte teares trill downe by his chekes. But whan thei that were present vnderstode why that he shewed suche countenance, contrary wise thei reioiced excedyngly, as well at the wonderfull wisedome of the ponge emperour, as that the vertue and learnyng of Septicius was in conclusion so well cõsidered, callyng Rome a citee most blessed, that should haue suche a Prefor. And with one consent thei so prealed on Septicius with inuincible argumentes, that he accorded to

retourne

retourne towarde Rome, and to receiue the saied office. Not withstandyng after that he had sitte a good space without speakyng, he abraided out at the last, and complained hym in this wyse.

¶ O what miserable astate shall I now come to? wherin diligence shall be cause of displeasure, negligence of reproche, sharpenesse shall be dreadefull, pitee vnthankefull, familiaritee suspicious, frendship dangerous, euery mans countenance pleasant, many mens mindes offended, flatteryng openly, disdeignyng secretly: against my commyng attendance, in presence muche courtesy: beyng out of office or fauour, lacke of acquaintance. But of force I muste obey that the emperour commandeth, and yet he cõmandeth not, but most gentilly alureth: whervnto my frendes also consenten, and reason determineth. I therfore committe all vnto god, who with his prouidence all thyng disposeth. Auctoritee.

¶ And so he departed, and in shorte space arriued at Rome, where with many noble senatours, & the chiefe of

the people he was gladly receiued. Many other wise and learned men did this noble prince elect and moste gentyllie inuite vnto the ministracion of the weale publike, by occasion wherof oppression, extorcion, bribery, and other corrupcion of iustice, were out of the citee of Rome (during this emperours lyfe) vtterly exterminate.

## ¶ A notable question meued by Julius Paulus vnto the emperour Alexander, And the wise answere whiche he therunto made. Cap. xxxvi.

YE haue hearde before, what austeritee and sharpnesse in punishement the emperour Alexander vsed towarde all theim, whiche by any maner corrupcion gaue vntrue sentences. Semblably against theues and oppressours of people he was no lasse rigorouse, punishyng theim sharpely and openly, without remission or hope of pardon: touchyng treason he dyd neuer alter or adde any thyng to the punishmentes, which

whiche were afore ordeigned: And in conspiracies against his owne person, he often times suspended his sentence, or deferred execucion, as well to trie out the counsailes and practises of the offendours, as the fyrste occasion of theyr displeasures. Also whether theyr natures were obstinate or proude, aspiryng vnto supremitee: or if thei were milde and easy, and seemed to be incended therto by the prouocacion of other. And diuerse suche, some he pardoned, and with most gentill perswasions not onely reduced them to due obedience, but also bounde their hertes to hym in a perfect allegeaunce: some he caused for a time to sustein imprisonment or exile, and as he founde them repentant, so dyd he relieue theim. In theyr exile it was punisshement of death, to geue to them any thyng, but meate and drinke, and that but course and of small quantitee: also to be in theyr companie longer than they brought thē meate, or to speake with them, or to receiue letters of them: so that they liued alone among people,

in a

in a prison vnclosed, and in a common resorte in most painfull solitude. He had notwithstandyng in those places of exile some trustie persons abidyng, who marked in what fourme they sustained that punishemente, whether thei were very repentaunt or sturdie: and accordyng to sueh mens intimacion, he caused the exile to bee shorter or longer. And here about he was verie curiouse and diligent.

¶ On a tyme Iulius Paulus, a noble counsailour, meruailyng, that themperour was so pitifull toward them, which offended his person, beyng so rigorouse against all other transgressours, findyng the Emperour at leysure, saied vnto hym in this wise.

¶ Sir if it shal stand with your pleasure, I would be faine satisfied in a thyng, whiehe causeth me muche to wonder at you. Speake on (saied the Emperour.) Sir, saied Paulus, In all the time that I haue serued your maiestee, I haue considered, that your proper nature is milde, facile, gentill, and wittie, and therwith adourned with incomparable pacience and

cous

constance. Wherfore whan I beholde you in publike or ciuile matters alwaie so bente to the rigour of Iustice, that ye will perdon none execucion, the offendour beeyng iustlie condemned: yet in transgressions against your maiestee, be they neuer so greuouse and laufully proued, ye oftentymes dooe geue your moste gracious perdon, and somtyme vnasked. And some haue I knowen, whiche haue ben condemned for committyng actes agaynst their allegiaunce, to whom ye not only remitted your graces displeasure, but also receiued thē familiarelie, and enterteined theim with great liberalitee, as Ominius Camillus, who by secrete meanes aspired to the imperiall maiestee, whan he was therfore brought afore the Senate all tremblyng, his conscience disclosyng his trespace, ye geuyng to hym thankes, that he willyngli would take on hym the charge of the weale publike, whiche other good men refused, whan it was profered, and callyng hym copartener of the empire, ledde hym from the Senate

vnto

vnto your palaice, and caused hym to sitte with you at supper, in more ryt-cher apparaile than ye ware at that tyme: with muche other benevolence shewed vnto hym at your gooyng in warres towarde Persia. This thyng maketh me and many other to mer-uaile. Wherfore the causes, whiche herevnto moueth you, I am most de-strouse to know, which by mine owne witte I can not determine. And many other, as well as I, be therwith per-plered. I therfore moste humblie be-seeche your maiestee, that by your owne mouthe it maie bee resolued.

¶ The emperour, after a littel pause, therevnto aunswered: Truely Paulus we be nothing offended with your de-maunde, but are right well contented to declare vnto you, and other men of like wisedome, the reason and cause, that doeth meue vs to doe any thyng in our office imperiall, that thereby we maie exclude all ill suspicion, and approue our benevolence toward the weale publike. Albeit if ye had seen as muche of philosophie, as ye haue dooen of the lawes ciuile, ye shoulde

not

not haue had nede to haue made this demaunde. But now to your question, ye must confesse Paulus, that in our persone bee two states or conditions: one by nature common with other menne: the other by election priuate and from the people excepted. In the first we be resembled to beastes, for the affections and passions, wherin we communicate with them. In the other we be like vnto Goddes immortall, in supreme dignitie excellyng all other men: whiche is to vs hapned, and not ingenerate, by the prerogatiue of vertue, which is supposed to be more excellent in vs: whiche vertue is none other thyng but disposicion, and exterior acte of the minde, agreable to reason, and the moderacion of nature. The supreme dignitee, that we haue receiued, is onely in gouernaunce of men, which dooe participate with vs in Nature, wher in thei alwaie remaigne equall with vs: but by Reason thei bee made inferior vnto vs: For they supposyng it to be more habundantly geuen vs, haue therefore willingly submitted them

Habite contemplatiue & practicus.

Supreme dignitee

them self vnto our gouernaunce. And what that gouernaunce ought to be, our names of dignitee, whiche the people hath geuen vs, dooe expresse it sufficiently. For they gaue vs firste the surnames of Cæsar and Augustus, for remembraunce of the prowesse of the one, and the wisdom of the other, whiche lyke as they desired, so they trusted to bee aboundauntly in vs.

Cæsar August⁹

Imperator.

¶ Thei call vs also Emperour, whiche dignitee among the auncient Romains consisted in the principall gouernaunce of hostes and armies, not onely in leadyng them vnto warres (which was also thoffice of a duke) but also to see theim euer well exercised, kepyng alwaie and in euerie place good order and Justice.

Dux.

¶ Moreouer, the Senate and people haue geuē vs a name excellyng all other in honour and dignitee, callyng vs Father of their countreie. Maie there be imagined any name greatter or higher? For where ye haue witsaufed liberally to consecrate manie of our progenitours, and callyng theim Gods, haue made theim equal one to

Pater patrie.

an

an other, Onely Iupiter, whom Orpheus dooeth call life, you and your progenitours haue called father, as it were by a spectall prerogatiue aboue all other: whiche name is agreable vnto his proprtee. For of life al thinges haue beeyng and meuyng, which acte of creacion, or (more naturally to speake it) generacio, is incidēt to the name of father, like as also his office is to preserue and kepe safe that whiche he hym self hath ingendred. Considerynge howe inestimable an office and dignitee are concluded in that diuine and moste reuerende name of father, makyng me thereby the mortall Image of the liuyng God: howe circūspect ought I to bee, that I do nothyng vnworthie that name so liberally geuen me? Ye know well Paulus, that in mennes children be diuers and sundrie disposicions, some be apt of their nature to vertue and towardnesse, some haue not nature so prōpte and benenolēt: wherfore thei must be by education thervnto formed: some be quicke of witte, some dul in capacitee: of sharpe wittes, some most de re-

Iupiter

splen-

ſplendiſhe in actes that bee honeſt, o-
ther ſeme quickeſt in malice & ſhrewd-
neſſe. The good and diligent father
of eueriche of theim is equally care-
full, and aſſaieth firſte by educacion
to make theim all conformable vnto
his appetite. And therfore at the firſt
with ſweete meates and prarie giftes
he allureth theim all for to loue him,
and where thei offende (as none, orels
verie fewe are perfite in vertue,) cor-
rectyng thē with a litel ſharpe rodde,
he maketh theim alſo to feare hym.
And if he beate a ſhrewde boy, it is
dooen as well to put other in feare to
offende, as to make him amende. And
ſometyme the father to reſtreigne the
prompte diſpoſicion that he ſeeth in
his children to vicious qualitees, do-
eth abdicate nowe and than one, that
is to ſaie, putteth them out of his fa-
milie, and cleerely excludeth theim
from any hope of inheritance. Some-
time perceiuyng their ſhrewdeneſſe to
reaſe, if any tranſgreſſeth againſt him
ſelf onely, either he correcteth hym
moderately, or by a wiſe and gentill
perſwaſion, aſſaieth to induce him to

know

knowe well his duetie, and to plucke from him opinion of a falſe libertee.

Next vnto God, who is ſo great a father, as he which is father of a whole countrey: that is to ſaie, father of theym that be fathers, their children and familie: Howe muche than oughte the care of hym excede farre the cares of all other: the charitie of him, the loue of all other: the wiſedome of him, the prudence of other: The ſtudious father more careth how to bryng vp his children in honeſtee, than how to liue pleaſauntly. The louyng father hath more ſolicitude about his childrens helth, then about his owne wealth. The wiſe father more cõſidereth, what his ſonne ſhall be in the eſtimacion of other men, than how he maie content his ſinguler affection. I haue ſhewed to you the office of a priuate father. What will ye nowe ſaie to me, that in office am the vniuerſall father of all the whole countreie: will ye ſaie, that I ſhould haue laſſe care, laſſe loue, or laſſe wiſdome and policie? I ſuppoſe no, I knowe therein your opinion ſufficiently

Office of a father.

ently. Than take good hede what I sate. The rigour of Iustice, whiche ye seeme to note in me, in punishyng offenders against the weale publike, is but a forme of discipline, conuenient and necessarie, hauyng regarde to suche children as I founde in this citee, corrupted with all kindes of vice, and hauyng their mindes and wittes all disposed to folie, whiche beyng a generall detrimente, I haue vsed therein a more sharper remedie: and therefore consequentlie it hath been founde the more conuenient and spedie.

¶ In offences touchyng our only persone, we haue discended in our minde from the imperiall maiestee, and considered our firste astate left vs by nature, wherein lokyng as in a mirrour we beholde the same matter that other men be of, and therin the seedes of sundrie affections, this causeth vs where we finde hope of amendment, in lamentyng the miserie of mankinde to be meeued with a fatherlie pitie and muche lasse esteemyng the daungier of our person onely, than of the

whole

whole countreie. We endeuour vs by mercie and gentilneſſe to reſtore that vnkinde childe, whiche hath offended vs, eſtſones to his bretherne and companie. Notwithſtandyng if he be ſo malicious and arrogant that he wyll not ceaſſe to abuſe our pacience, we than refuſe hym to bee our childe, and as an enmy vnto the weale publike (for ſo bee all that intende hoſtilitee agaynſt him, which is head and father thereof) we committe him to the Senate and people for his malice and treaſon to be iuſtely condemned. And thus doyng we accompliſhe all the parties of a father: and keepyng the people in a moderate feare and good order, we execute the office of a good Emperour.

¶ Thus haue ye Paulus a iuſte accompte of our miniſtracion, I wote not how it contenteth you, ſure I am, that mine owne conſcience therin was neuer offended, nor the publike weale greued, nor any good manne thereby oppreſſed, wherof I haue the Senate and people my witneſſe, and him onely my iudge, who beeyng in heauen,

 ſaueth

faileth not to punische all theym that abuse his image.

¶ Herewith Julius Paulus seemed to be satisfied, and moste humblie thankyng the emperour, and meruailyng at his great wisedome and temperaunce, for that tyme departed.

¶ Of a great exclamacion made against a gentilman called Marcus Geminus by his Libertines, And the oracion of Junius Moderatus, made in the Senate. Ca. xxxviii.

LIkewise as this emperour Alexander was rigorouse and terrible to corrupt iudges and oppressours of Justice, so was he most fauourable and bounteouse vnto all suche as were sincere in their ministracions and supportars of equitee. On a time as he went toward the Senate, there came against hym a great numbre of persons, homely apparailed and of a rude presence, whiche as the Emperour approched theim, fell downe on their knees, and in a moste lamentable forme with one confuse crie accused a gentilman called Marcus Geminus of oppression, and to bring

him more into displeasure and enuie, thei added to their complaint, that he was one of theim that conspired with Oninius Camillus. The emperour heard theym, and diligently marked their gesture and countenance, wherin he perceiued to bee more rankour than dolour, more sturdinesse, than humble shamefastnesse, more obstinate cruelitee, then reason or honestie: he than asked of theim, what people thei were. They aunswered, saiyng: that thei were husband men of Campania. He commaunded them to withdrawe them vntill thei were sent for, and shewyng to theim a right gentill visage, he passed from theim.

¶ The people receiuyng a more arrogant courage, of the cõfortable countenaunce, whiche it seemed that the Emperour made to theim at their departyng, leauyng for the while their counterfaite sorowes, thei spente the daies in tauernes and victailyng houses, the nightes in places of bawdrie, promisyng vnto theim selues victorie against Gemianus, addyng therto with moste dispitefull arrogance, that his

tourmentes and deathe shoulde bee a dreadfull exaumple to gentill menne: and that from thensefoorth their ploughmen and tenauntes should be felowe like with theim. Whiche menaces and bostynges were soone after reported vnto the Emperour: But first as soone as he was come to the Senate, he shewed there all that was hapned, and than he demaunded the Senatoures, if any of theym knewe Marcus Geminus. Diuers of theim aunswered in order, that thei knewe him well, and that he had been alwaie reputed a man of muche honestie, and hauyng a competent liuyng for his degree, had euer lined therewith temperately, without note of reproche vnto this time. Herewith as the emperour sate meruailyng at the furie of the saide clamorous people, and the cõmendacion geuen to Marcus Geminus, an auncient senatour, named Iunius Moderatus, who was reputed to be a man of great worship, and was of the age of one hundred yeres, or there about, did stande vpon his feete, and saide in this wise.

¶ Moste noble Emperour, all be it that I am not required, nor do nowe intende to take on me the defence of Marcus Geminus, with whom I haue no maner acquaintance, yet to the entent that your moste gentill and pitiefull hert, tempred with iustice, should be no longer perplexed, as it appeareth to be by your countenaunce, I wyll, by remembryng your maiestee of the generall state and condicion of theim, whiche haue complained on Marcus Geminus, in some parte (I truste) resolue the importaunce of your admiracion and studie. Theseus of Iunius Modestus.

¶ Ye doe well perceiue, that the complainers be all of Campania, a countreie moste plenteous of al thyng that the earth maie bryng forth, and therwith so fertile, that it dooeth not require great toile or labour, but onely good diligence in obseruynge the oportunites of tyme in sowynge and plantyng, with the preseruacion of the thynges whiles they be growing. With this fertilitee, the bodies dooe become fat and lustie, and therby are made ill disposed to labour, the which

disposicion the goodnesse of the soile alwaie supporteth: thereof procedeth obstinate sturdinesse against theyr superiours, and often times commocions and sodaine rebellions: and with great difficultee hath the people bee brought vnto a perfecte obedience, which was after that they had rebelled against the Romaines, being confederate with Hanniball and the Carthaginenses. At the whiche time thei beyng vanquished by Fulvius, manie were slayne, the multitude were solde in bondage vnto the Romaines, among whom the fieldes and possessions were at that time deuided, it dured a long tyme, that the Romaines beeyng good husbandes theim selfes, ouerseeyng theyr tillage and husbandrie, keepyng the Campanes in seruitude, bourdainyng theim with continuall labours, feedyng and clothyng theim moderately, and more neter to scarsitee than superfluitee, leauyng theim no more vacacion from labour than the festiuall daies, whiche the lawes haue appointed: the countreie abode in continual quietnesse, and iu-

stice

stice was there sufficiently ministred, by one onely magistrate sente vnto theym yerely out of this citee. There dwelled Sacerna, Tremilius, Iulius Atticus, and diuers other gentilmen, as well in husbandrie, as in other wisedome and politie noble and famouse, withoute exclamacions vnto the Senate. Moreouer the gentilmē brought vp in that countreie, for theyr temperance in liuyng, and prudent gouernyng of their owne familie, were oftentimes electe into the Senate, and esteemed alwaie for the beste Senatours. But after the subuersion of Carthage, and that al Greece and Asia were in our iurisdiction, Spayne made tributarie, and Gallia brought vnder subiection, Idelnesse, with delicate appetite entred together into this citee, and so muche abounded, that it was from thense distributed into all the whole region of Italie. And than the gentilmen of Campania, lefte their auncient frugalitee and diligent gouernaunce, and dyd sette all their studie onely about thynges pleasaunt and delectable, not beyng

contented with the commodities of the same countrey, ne with the same measure and quantitee, whiche they before vsed: but with outragious expenses, sendyng into other countreis farre of, for other kyndes of thynges, whiche they had not growyng, they vnsaciably fedde therewith theym selues and theyr seruauntes, and contemnyng the exercise of husbandrie, they negligently haue suffred theyr seruauntes to be oppressed with gourmandise, and to reiecte theyr accustomed fare, and to haue it more delicate. Also to encrease sleepe and pastime, and to minishe their labours and diligence. Moreouer by priuate contencions amonge the same gentilmen (which alway happeneth where temperaunce lacketh) by ambicion and enuie they that were bondemen, were infranchised and made libertines, to the intent that theyr lordes woulde be seene puissaunt of men, to mainteine theyr quarelles: Whereby it is happened, that the progenie of the saide bondemen are nowe of suche sturdinesse, that they disdeigne and take

Libertines were of like condicions, as our copiehol ders were of old time

take scorne to be corrected, ne will o-therwise laboure than it shall lyke theim. And if their lorde will sharpe-ly call on theym, they will not lette, boldly to make resistence: And where they be not therto sufficient, thei wyll suborne some false quarrell to make a commocion, trustyng thereby to robbe and destroie theyr lordes: or if thei can not bringe that to passe, at the least thei will make intuste exclamacions, where they fynde a prince, whom thei suppose to haue his eares open to tales and reportes, and wyll condemne in his opinion men com-plained on, before perchaunce that he knoweth theim. Hereof haue we to many examples, as well in the tyme of Tiberius Nero, and Domitiane, as in the time of my remembrance. were not Dufius Sillanus, and Anſius Lupus, men of great honestee, condemned to death by the emperour Commodus, vp-pon the false complaintes of theyr libertines: whiche grutched against them, because that Sillanus was a sterne man, & of the ancient seuerite. Wherfore they moughte not susteine him

him, punishyng them continually for their ydell and riottous liuyng: Lupus, because he woulde not suffer his libertines to incroche vpon his possessions, and to retayne certayne portions of lande, which after the death of Petilius Rufus his mothers vncle (whose heire Lupus was) thei had taken by stelthe, whiles he was in Asia, wherfore thei appeached him vnto the emperour, saiyng that he was of familiar counsaile with Caius Regilius, whom a littell before, Commodus had put vnto death. Petronius, in the time of Caracalla the emperour, was also put vnto death by a like occasion. And to speake of mine owne experience, by the space of .xl. yeres, so longe I continued in keapyng of husbandrie in the countrey of Vmbria, hauing therin much delectacion, I founde the rusticall people my neighbours prompte to iniuries, murmuryng at Iustice, grutchyng at labours, desirouse of pleasures, ingrate against benefittes. At the first I was with theim familiar and homely, than founde I theim alwaie carliche

and

and ſturdy. Than againſt mine owne nature I chaunged my copie, and became towarde theim more ſtraunge in countenaunce, more rare in ſpeakyng, more ſelde in pardonyng, more quicke in reuengeyng, ſuche iniuries as they willingly did me. Moreouer I was more frequent in commaundyng my libertines, and wolde my ſelfe ſee theim to doe truely their ſeruyces, nothyng omittyng: than had I a littell and ſeldome anie occaſion to be offended with. There was none iniuries offred mé of my neighbours, which beholding me ſo ſharpe to my libertines, and ſo rigorouſe in iuſtice, feared to diſpleaſe me.

My libertines forgettyng all pleaſures, ſtudied with labour and diligence to gette ſome praiſe of me.

Than conſidered I well, that good dettours oftentimes ſpared, become ill paiers, ſmall iniuries oftentymes pardoned, maketh of neighboures perniciouſe enemies. A ſeruant made malapert, wyll kicke at his duetie, and labour by cuſtome becometh eaſie: Beholde, the gentill maiſters haue

I maiſter to ſeruaun tes.

haue alwaie prouide seruauntes: And of a maiester sturdie, and fierce, a litell winke to his seruant is a fearefull commaundement. The nature of libertines is muche contrariouse to that whiche is gentill. The gentilman, gentilly intreated, is content to doe all thyng: The vile nature, familiarly vsed, grudgeth at euery thyng. This is euery daie proued, but no witte can make streight that whiche nature made croked, Geminus is a gentilman of an olde house of the Latines, whose great graundefather Rubellius Geminus was consull in the late daies of the emperour Tiberius. He hath his possessions in Campania (as I haue herd say) by an auncetour of his mother called Pomponius Sura. Perchaunce his noueltee there maie be disdeigned, and the moueable people lackyng somwhat of their willes, maie be comforted by some of equall degree vnto Geminus, by their exclamacions to bryngе hym out of credence, and consequently vnto some ieoperdie. Wherefore serueth the Prefor Trypho nius, who is knowen

Seruãtes.

to be

to be a man very discrete, well learned, and of a great iudgement: if thei came to him, why did he not heare them? If he wolde not heare theim, why complaine thei not of him? If he did here them, why is Geminus lefte still vnpunished? If he be punished, why is he excusones accused? Myne aduise is (most noble emperour) that Marcus Geminus be hastily sent for, that he haue no leasure to solicite the Pretor Tripho nius: and that immediately afterwarde a letter bee directed to the same Pretor, willyng hym to aduertise your maiestee with all expedicion, what maie be proued in the ratificacion of suche articles as benne obiected in the accusacion of Geminus: whiche proues beyng sente vp vnto vs, if Geminus can not refell them, than let the lawes of the citee proceede against him. If the suggestion be found false and malicious, than shall your maiestee do like a vertuous gouernour, and father of the countrey, if by your excellēt wisedome and rule of iustice ye prouide, that the false accusers, & their abbettours,

tours maie be so punished, that they and other persons of lyke inclinacion, maie be afeard to abuse your clemencie and most gentyll nature. And now hath your maiestee heard all mine opinion.

¶ This sentence contented the emperour, who therfore commended the substanciall wisedome and compendiouse eloquence of the olde Moderatus. And accordyng therunto was Geminus sent for by an officer, and soone after a letter was sent to Tripsonius, accordyng to the minute before rehersed: which was deliuered to the Pretor incontinent vpon the departyng of Geminus.

¶ The wonderfull prudence and equitee shewed by Alexander the emperour, in the determinacion and sentence in the matter precedyng. Ca. xxxix

✦

AT the commynge of Geminus to Rome, he was foorthwith committed vnto Catelius the Senatour to be secretly kept, with comfort geuen vnto him, that if suche thynges as

as he was accused of, coulde not bee proued by witnesse or matter sufficient, his accusacion should bee to hym an happie displeasure.

¶ In the meane tyme Cripponius the Pretor, when he had radde the emperours letters, fearing his rigorous iustice to rulers and Iudges corrupted or negligent, he forthwith sent vnto the moste honest inhabitauntes, not beeyng gentilmen, which dwelled in townes and villages next adioynyng to the habitacion of Geminus: whom not beyng yet ware of the departyng of Geminus, nor for what cause they were sent for, the Pretor callyng vnto him one of them after another, seuerallie examined them, what they knewe or supposed of Marcus Geminus, in what cõdicion he vsed him self: first concernyng his faith to themperour Senate and people of Rome: also in Iustice and equitee touchyng his neighbours: moreouer frugalitee and temperaunce in his owne familie: finallie in oppression and crueltee to his tenauntes and libertines. Addyng thervnto, that the Emperours

maiestee was informed, that Geminus in all the saied poinctes was greuously noted, whiche beyng sufficiently proued against hym, his punishement should be to all other men a dreadful exaumple, wherby poore men should afterwarde liue in the more suretee, and out of the danger of cruell affections. Euery one that was examined aparte, freely without alteracion of wordes affirmed, that Geminus was a man of great honestee, & that thei did neuer suspect his faith of allegiance, although he repaired sometyme to Oninius, whan he sojourned nigh to him, whiche he seemed rather to doue for the honouryng of Oninius dignitee, than for any special affection that he had toward hym, considerynge that they were moste vnlike of condicions. For Oninius was proude, ambicious, and prodigall: Geminus was gentill, moderate in liuyng, and temperate in spendyng. The other was almost ignorant of letters, delityng in riotte and lecherie: this man well learned, and hauyng his principall pleasure in readyng or writyng.

So

So diuerse condicions coulde neuer ioygne hertes in a feruent affection. Moreouer they could neuer perceiue, that Geminus at any tyme preised Ominius, otherwise than is the generall preise geuen to men in auctoritee, calling hym honourable.

¶ Concerning iustice and equitee, thei said that therein he was euer founde notablie ernest, in so muche as by keping his promise and touche, he susteined oftentimes no littell detrimēt.

¶ Also he remitted oftētimes a good parte of his duitie, whiche the lawes gaue hym: sometyme of gentilnesse, somtime meued with the persons necessitee. The measurable fare and good order of his familie, was to all his neighbours an excellent paterne. To his tenantes and libertines at his first comyng he was of muche affabilitee, but after he perceiued by the auncient tables and monumentes belongyng vnto his patrimonie, that his libertines had withdrawen some parte of their seruices, and craftily entrelaced his dominical landes with their seruile possessions, he

firſt aſſaied to perſwade theim to reſtore vnto him his enheritaunce, offeryng to remitte vnto thē their wrong full intruſions, with all the profites, whiche they had therof receiued, if they would willingly departe from that, whiche by iuſtice they moughte not kepe from him: but thei litteli regardyng his honeſt requeſt, obſtinately denied to leaue the poſſeſſion of thoſe landes, whiche thei had ſo long occupied: and became in all their actes toward him ſturdie and malapert wherwith beeyng diſpleaſantly meeued, he with his houſholde ſeruantes and frendes expelled theim from the poſſeſſion of ſuche landes as they wrongfullie occupied: wherwith they beeyng exaſperate, and deſirous to be reuenged (ſuppoſyng that if thei complained to the Pretor, the trueth ſhortly apperyng vnto him, thei ſhould nothyng preuaile, but be for euer excluded frō their vniuſte occupacion) thei conſpiryng together wente vnto two gentilmen dwellyng hereby, the one called Duillius, the other Cotta, who alwaie had enuie at Marcus Geminus

and

and mought not sustein his commendacion, but vsed to speake reprochefullie of him. Whan thei had hearde what the libertines purposed, thei excedingly reioyced therat, and gaue to theim not onely comfort in their procedynges, but also summes of moneie towarde their charges, with secrete letters vnto their friendes and acquaintaunce in the citee of Rome, desiryng theim to assist and solicite the cause of the libertines.

¶ Thei saied moreouer, that there remained yet in the towne of Geminus, as well libertines as men free of condicion, his tenauntes, whiche beeyng of a more honest nature, and perswaded at the first with the vnreasonable request of their lorde, woulde by no meanes consent vnto the conspiracie, notwithstandyng that thei wer thervnto preased, as well by the said gentilmen as by the libertines. Whiche persons they thought expedient to be also examined. That heryng the Pretor, cōmendyng their trueth and modestee, he depeached those deponentes for that time, commaundyng them to

kepe all thyng secrete: and immediatly he sent for the saied residue of the tenauntes and libertines of Marcus Geminus: Who beeyng likewise examined: in all and euery thyng agreed with the first witnesses.

¶ Than Tripsonius incontinent caused horses to be prouided, and those persons without any lenger abode, to be conueighed to Rome with his letters vnto the Emperour, conteignyng the true report of the saied examinacions: whiche letters the Emperour readyng hym self, commaunded that those men, whiche were come to the citee, should be foorthwith brought to his presence, in most secrete wise, whiche was performed.

¶ Than themperour callyng to hym Oxpianus, Catelius, Paulus, and Sabinus, who at that time were in the palaice, he commaunded the saied persones to be brought foorth, and hym selfe demaundyng like questions of theim, as Tripsonius had doone, but in an other order and facion, he foūde their woordes in euery condicion like as they had deposed, sauyng that they

thers

therevnto added, that the cõplainers before their departing, and after that they were come crõ Druſkins and Lotta, had importunately deſired theſe men to goe with theim, ſaiyng: that they nothyng doubted, but that Geminus at the leaſt ſhould loſe his heade and that they for their trauels ſhould haue his goodes, or a good part therof deuided among thẽ: and that Druſkins and Lotta truſted to haue his landes by gifte or by purchaſe. That hering the emperour: with viſage inflamed, & eyes ſparkelyng as fyre, braſt out in theſe woordes folowyng.

O villain nature beſtiall and monſtruouſe. O cruell enuie foule and malicioufe, the one neuer vanquiſhed with gentilneſſe, the other neuer contented with vertue and ſobreneſſe. Howe often haue wiſe men been by ſuche falſhode deluded, Emperours, kynges, and other Potentates by ſuche ſerpentes abuſed, iuſtice oppreſſed, mercie ſklaunchred, good people deſtroied, falſe harlottes aduaunced: God forbidde that I ſhoulde liue emperour of Rome, if I would not ſee

this enormitee punished, wherby all publike weales maie be shortly subuerted. For where Order faileth, obedience decaieth, boldnesse increaseth, deceit escapeth, iniury preuaileth, auarice corrupteth, the state of a weale publike sone after perisheth. When he had saied thus: he commendyng the truth and sincerite of them, whiche had spoken, commanded that thei shoulde remaine still in his palaice in a place secret, vntill it were his pleasure for to call for theim. Than caused he to be published throughout the citee, that Marcus Geminus was likely shortely to be condemned. Which beyng comen to the eares of his accusers, they replenished with ioie, romed about the citee, imbracyng their friendes and confederates, with mutuall congratulacions, makyng bankettes one to an other, for excedyng ioie forgettyng to slepe, but passed foorth the nightes in drinkyng and singing, and deuisyng tourmentes for Marcus Geminus. Of all this herde the emperour, who dissembled his angre, albeit he had no lesse solicitude,

Order.

in

in prouidyng the meanes howe their mischiefe and falshode mought be in suche wyse corrected, as good men mought be free from suche perilles, and the exaumple mought vtterlie drowne the malice of wretches.
As soone as Druſſius and Cotta, had heard of the brute of the condemnacion of Geminus, with all spede they bothe came vnto Rome, bryngyng with theim great presentes to geue vnto suche as were nigh about the emperour, to the intent that they by their meanes mought attaine to the possessions of Geminus. But these noble men, vnto whom they offered to geue the saied presentes, refused to take theim, fearyng the emperours seueritee. As soone as the emperour had heard of the comyng of Druſſius and Cotta, he sente for them, and in the presence of diuers Senatours, after he had taken theim by the handes, with a familiar countenaunce, he dyssembled to theim, that he was muche greued with the vnkyndenesse of Geminus, towarde his persone, and also his oppressions

and

and iniuries towarde his libertines and tenantes. With that Duillius and Cotta beeyng muche comforted towarde their purpose, to aggrauate the complaintes against Geminus, and semyng to doe well, dispreised the rigorous tyrannie of Geminus, and commended the simplicitee of his libertines, saiyng, that thei wouide not so soone haue complained on Geminus, if thei had not ben by them vehemently stirred and prouoked therto.

¶ After that the emperour had ben a while in a studie, as it were to sate some thynge against Geminus, at the last with a familiar visage, he sayde vnto theym: Ye haue knowen, in how muche detestacion I haue alway had the oppression of innocentes, the iniuries dooen with extreme malice and violence: And yet not withstandyng the sharpe corrections, whiche haue been executed agaynste suche malefactours, as well by auncient lawes of this citee as by our owne decrees and ordinances, yet as it seemeth, that pestilence in the weale publike ceaseth not. Wherefore we nowe

wolde

woulde, that some new and straunge correction were deuised for Geminus, whiche should be suche as to all men of euery degree, mought be the most fearefull example to offende in like condicion. And as touchyng the offence towarde me, I shall holde me content with the iudgement, whiche the lawes haue prouided. And more ouer to the intent that men shall perceiue, howe muche we fauour theim that dooe support trewe men against tyrannes, I wold that some rewarde were also deuised for suche supporters, equall and conuenient vnto theyr merites. And herein will we fyxe here your sentences, for as muche as ye dooe seme to be men of zeale, And are reported to be wise men and politike about your affaires. Wherfore we intende to haue of you better acquaintaunce, that the publike weale by you mate be amended. These wordes of the emperour Dulkius and Cotta toke to be all for their benefite, and thinkyng that thei had good opportunitee offred theim to acheue their desire, thinkyng that the more sharpe and vehement punishement they did

deuise for Marcus Geminus, the better it shoulde content the minde of the emperour.

¶ First Duillius, forgetting hym selfe, with face all inflamed with malice, declared his sentence in this wise.

¶ Forasmuche as the emperour had referred the offence committed against his maiestee, to the iudgement of the lawes ciuile, (albeit that suche punishement were insufficient for such a traitour as Geminus was) concernyng his oppression of innocentes, his correction mought bee no lasse, than that he beyng all naked, shoulde by his libertines be first of all whipped throughout the citee of Rome, with whippes full of ruelles, called Scorpions, and afterwarde his nose and eares beyng cutte of, so with reproches to be conueighed vnto the towne of his habitacion, and there to be eftsones whipped by all his libertines: and from thens to be caried into the Iles called Hebrides, and neuer to retourne into Italie. His childerne also to be banished for euer out of that territory: Restitucion also to

be

be made to the libertines of all that which was bereft theim. As concerning the residue, they whiche were accusers of traitours and supporters of the same accusers, should haue diuided amonge theim, the one halfe deale of their goodes and possessions: so that the one halfe therof shoulde be to the accusers, the other halfe to the supporters of theim, the other halfe deale of the whole shuld be confiscate to the emperours treasure.

Cotta agreed in euery thyng with Duillius, sauyng the deformyng of Geminus, and banishment of his childerne, saiyng, that theriu was to great a visage of crueltee. In the disposicion of the gooddes and possessions, he added vnto the sentence of Duillius, that if the accuser or supporter were a bondman or libertine, he shoulde haue no part of the possessions, but onely the fourth part of the moueables: in the residue he agreed with Duillius.

¶ When they had spoken, the emperour and other that were with hym, seemed to cõmende their zelous affection: and the emperour finding occasion

ſtion by the lacke of time, and that his ſupper, abode than for hym, did departe from them, ſaiyng that he wold aduiſe hym on their wiſe counſailes, and licenced theim to departe with a familiar becke. Who beyng retourned to their lodgeynges, and ſendyng for the libertines and other of their acquaintance: after that thei had declared what thei had ſpoke, and how nigh the confuſion of Geminus did approche, and what truſt thei had to enioie his goodes and poſſeſſions: there was made amonge theim ioie without meaſure, with reuelle and banketyng, ſo that the report thereof came to the eares of the emperour, and of all the Senate, whiche remained in a great expectacion of the emperours iudgement.

¶ Afterwarde the emperour commaunded his place of aſtate to bee made ready in the Theatre of Pompei, that the people of Rome ſhoulde be ſommoned to be ready there the thyrde daie folowyng: whiche was accõpliſhed. And themperour beyng ſet with his noble counſailours with

him

him, he commanded, that as well the libertines, as Duillius and Cotta shuld prepare them to the accusacion of Geminus, who came into the place, bringyng with theim one Rutilius Lupus, a subtill Rhetorician, to be their aduocate. But Geminus onely trustyng on his owne conscience, refused to haue any other patrone, than the true examinacion and iustice of the emperour and other whiche were his iudges. And the emperour was therwith right well contēted, consideryng that the time of the controuersie should be made therby the shorter.

¶ First Lupus began his oracion with a great preise of the emperours vertues, whiche the emperour in no wise susteinyng, but beyng therwith offended, interpelled Lupus, and commanded hym to enter into his narracion, and to declare immediately the state of the mattier conteigned in the complainte of the libertines. Than Lupus beeyng partely abasshed, for as muche as his beginnyng was to make the emperour and herers beneuolent towarde the libertines, and to make

make the cause agaynste Geminus to seeme more greuous, he coldly entred into the matter, and generally obiected against Marcus Geminus his familiar resorte vnto Oninius Camillus, before that he was detected of treason. And therunto brought in for witnesses Duillius and Cotta, whom he called men of great worshyp: Geminus speakyng yet nothyng, nor chaungeyng his countenaunce: Duillius and Cotta, by to muche malice and couetise, forgettyng theim selfes, preased forth and saied, that thei had oftentimes seen Geminus, not onely at supper with Oninius in the tyme of his conspiracie, but also talkyng familiarely and secretelie with hym.

¶ Therwith the Emperour takyng occasion, demaunded of theim, what it was that Geminus spake to Oninius. They saied, they wist not, for they stode farre from theim, and moughte not here theim. The Emperour demaunded, if they did see when Geminus came and departed. They aunswered, that for the more partt they came before hym, and abode long after

ter him. He asked moreouer, in what fourme Geminus departed from Onimus. They saide, for the more parte with no pleasaunt countenance of the one or the other. The Emperour asked, if Geminus were desired by Onimius to come: or if he came to him vnsent for. They saide, they coulde not remember, but that Onimius sente alwaie a seruaunt for Geminus. The Empetour demaunded, if he did likewise with them. They aunswered, no. The Empetour immediately sent for Onimius, who beyng reconsiled to the Emperour, was than in the Senate, and for Cornisius his seruaunte, who had detected his treason: and in the meane time themperour tourned him vnto Geminus and said, that if he wer the manne, that he shewed to bee, he woulde lasse esteeme death than the losse of his credence, and that for his parte he more esteemed the confession of trueth, than the auengeyng of his displeasure.

¶ Wherefore he charged him vpon the faithe of an honest manne, to tell plainely, whereof was the commu-

nicacion betweene him and Oninius. Geminus aunſwered, that the firſt acceſſe that he had to him was voluntarie and vnſente for, onely to ſalute him, becauſe he was a Senatour, and in great eſtimacion, not knowyng any thyng of his traiterous affection: But perceiuyng his qualitees, and naturall appetitee not to be agreable to his opinion and ſtudie, he ceaſſed to come, vntill he was deſired of Oninius: whiche as he after perceiued, was for his incommoditie. For Oninius deſired of him a mancion place, whiche he had toignyng to the gardeins of Nero: from the whiche he would in no wiſe depart. All be it often and ſundrie times Oninius ſent for him, and as well by offeryng greate ſummes of money and frendſhip, as ſometime by menaces, he aſſaied to gette of him the houſe, but laſte of all he thretned him, that hauing al thing at commaundemente, as he doubted not but that he ſhould ſee it come to paſſe ſhortly, he would leaue him neither houſe nor life.

¶ With the whiche woordes Geminus

nus saide, that he was astonied, and so departed with his displeasure. But yet not thinking, that Ominius intended any conspiracie, considerying that he was alied vnto the Emperoure, and was by him aduaunced vnto greate ritchesse.

¶ Thus ceassed Geminus to speake any more. And by that time Carnifius, was comen, who beeyng demaunded, what acquaintaunce he had knowen to bee betwene Ominius and Marcus Geminus: he answered, that he knewe none acquayntaunce beetwene theym, but that oftentimes he had herde Ominius his maister saie to his secrete frendes, after that he had a longe tyme talked with Geminus, that he was a sturdie and obstinate persone, and woulde not conformme him to his requestes, concernyng a house, which he had nigh to the citee, wherfore if he mought bring his purposes to passe he would leaue him neither house nor head on his shoulders. The Emperour demaunded, if Geminus were any of theym that Ominius

 coun-

counsailed with concernyng his conspiracie. Therat smiled Carnifine and saied, that Quinius euer had him in so muche reputacion: for he neuer estemed him to bee moste vnapte to anie suche practise.

¶ Than came in Quinius, and the emperour commaunding him, sate doune by hym. And the emperour asked him, if he knewe Marcus Gemimus. And he fearyng, that he had complayned of him, blusshed, and saied, that he could neuer find kindnesse in him, and that his nature was ouerthwarte and alwaie against his desires. Wherfore he desired the Emperour not to geue to muche credence vnto hym in suche thinges as he complained of him, other than touchyng the request made for his house in the citee, whiche he confessed to haue desired importunatlie, and for that cause onely had often times conuented him whan he repaired into that countrete. The Emperour with that aunswere was well contented, and demaunded, if he had any better opinion of Quintius and Cotta. He saied, that thei were of an o-

ther

ther sorte, and more conformable vnto his appetite. Thereat the Emperour laughed in his hert (as he after declared vnto his familiers) marking the folie as well of Duillius and Cotta, as of Oninius Camillus, whiche vnawares had disclosed theyr secrete affections, and declared the innocencie of Marcus Geminus. And licencing Oninius to retourne to the Senate, he commaunded Lupus to resorte to the residue of the accusacion of Geminus: who partely beeyng discouraged, with a weake eloquence alleged the iniurie and cruell oppression of Geminus, extended vnto his tenauntes, takyng from theym their auncient possessions, and annexyng theim to his dominicall landes.

¶ Therewith Geminus beyng somewhat meued, plainely denied, that it was their auncient possessions, but affirmed that it were his proper dominicall landes, whiche betwene the death of his vnkle and his entrie, thei had vniustely vsurped and falsely conceled.

¶ Wherefore not onely he by the

 lawe

lawe mought iustlie expulse theym from thar, whiche thei vnlefully occupied, but also by theyr ingratitude thei had forfeited their manumissions, and consequently the landes geuen to them by his auncesters of good right ought to resorte eftsones to his possessiõs. This hering the emperour, he demaunded of the complainantes, of what state and condicion thei were? Thei all confessed to be the libertines of Marcus Geminus, and that suche landes as thei had, were seruile, as for the whiche thei were bounden to certain obseruances. But they plainelie denied, that thei had forfaited anie thyng, and with great exclamacions, and oute of order cried out on Geminus.

¶ Than commaunded the emperour, that the gentilmen and residue of the libertines and tenauntes, sent by Tryphonius, should be brought in, who beyng in likewise examined, declared openlie the stealing of Geminus domynicall laudes, by the saide libertines, whiche were accusers, the conturacon of theim to the destruction of Geminus,

minus, their priuie solicitacion of o-ther, the malicious supportyng of Duillius and Cotta, with their secrete confederacies, and all other thinges as before they had shewed to the Em-perour at home in his palaice: whiche aswell the accusers as Duillius and Cotta, herynge disclosed contrarie to their expectacions, they all were con-founded, and in their amased counte-naune sodein and scilente, seemed to the emperour, and all that were pre-sent, to confesse their untruth and ma-lice. And therwith Cotta, fearyng the emperours seueritee: fell on his knees and besought themperour to pardone him, and likewise desired Geminus, to forgeue him his malice, confessing all to be true, which was now spoken on his behalf. Herwith themperor was feruently stirred with displeasure to-warde the accusers: after that he had spoken with the residue of the iudges, he gaue sentence in this wise. ¶ For as muche as it appeareth unto vs, that thou Marcus Geminus arte innocente of that treason, whiche thy cruell libertines, with the suppor-

tacion of Quintus and Cotta haue falsly accused the of, we declare the to be a true gentilman, loiall to the weale publike and maiestee imperiall: and denounce vnto all men, that none bee so hardie to renewe this suspicion, wherof thou art purged: And for thy pacience, wisedome, and temperance we deeme the worthie to be admitted into the colledge of Senatours.

¶ Than themperour tourning him to the libertines, said: Ye villaine generacion, full of pestiferous malice, rude and moste bestiall of nature, voyde of all courtesie, false and deceiptefull towarde your soueraigne, cruell and vengeable against iustice and reason: For as muche as ye, with all your wyll and puissaunce haue indeuored your selfes by your false accusacion, not only to haue brought to a shamefull death Marcus Geminus your naturall lorde, a true and innocent gentilman, and a necessary membre of the weale publike, whiche if it had hapned, therof shuld haue succeded vnto the weale publike, notable damage, and to our person perpetual

repr̃oche

reproche and burden vnto our conscience: we therfore iudge you all worthei no lesse to suffer than Duillius one of your capitaines gaue in his sentence at home in our palaice againste Marcus Geminus. That firste ye shall be whipped throughout the citee with Scorpions, and than your noses and eares to be cutte of, and so to be brought into Campania, and there to be eftsones whipped in euery towne, and last of al, to be hanged in chaines on high gibettes, as ye be. xvi. in number, in. xvi. of the greatteste townes of that countrey, and that your children shall lose the priuilege of the manumission of you and your auncestours: and that none of your bloude be from henseforth manumised by any Consull or Pretor.

¶ Moreouer al your possessiõs wholly to remayne to Marcus Geminus, your mouables by the consent of Geminus, (whervnto we exhort him) to be equally diuided and geuen to his other tenantes and libertines, which refused to be consentyng or partie to your proceedinges.

THan loked he on Duillius and Cotta, and first saide to Duillius, Thou detestable serpente of villane progenie, whyche nature in the neither mought be subdued with auctoritee, nor altered with richesse, for as muche as by enuie onely thou haste maligned against Marcus Geminus, and with all thy power haste supported his libertines, to accuse him moste falsely of treason: And moreouer thy selfe hast in suche wise appeched him, that in thine owne woordes it appeareth, that thou were of a more familiar resort vnto Ominius than Geminus was, and by Ominius confession more conformable vnto his appetite. And what is declared by those woordes, but thou and Cotta were consentynge vnto the conspiracie? Thou shalte therfore receiue thine owne iudgemente, whyche thou wouldeste haue geuen on Marcus Geminus, that is to saie, thou shaulte be disgraded of all honour, and despoiled of thy garmentes in the middell of this citee: And from thense whipped with Scorpions vnto the high waie called Via Appia.

And

And from thense thou shalt be caried vnto Tarentum, and beyng there eftsones whipped, thou shalt be rendred with thy children in seruitude to Marcus Geminus. And all thy possessions to remayne for euer to hym and his heires.

¶ And as to the Cotta, although thou hast desired pardon, yet for as muche as thou haste polluted the noble and auncient bloude, whereof thou camest, imbracyng villayne condicions, and chosyng rather to be confederate with villaynes and malicious wretches, than to fauour vertue and iustice, it were not expediente that thou shouldest be so pardoned, that thou shouldest clerely escape withoute punischemente, specially considerynge, that thy nobilitee was a cause that Geminus was much more suspected, than if thou hadst not loigned thy selfe with his libertines.

Thou shalt therfore susteine parte of thine owne iudgement, whiche thou woldest haue geuen on Geminus, that is to saie, thou shalt foorthwith lose all thy mouables, whiche also with the

the gooddes of Dulcius shalbe equally parted, the one halfe to be brought into the common treasory, the other halfe to bee geuen indifferentely amonge those gentilmen, whiche honestly haue declared vnto vs the innocencie of Marcus Geminus. And as for thy landes, duryng thy lyfe to be confiscate, afterwarde to retourne to thyne heires. Moreouer that thou thy selfe shalt neuer retourne into Campania, but remaine still here in this citee, except we vpon other considerations hereafter mouyng vs, shall clerely pardone the.

¶ This was the ende of the emperours sentence. Wherwith all the people reioiced, and cried with one voice: Happy is Rome, that hath suche a gouernour, happie is the worlde, that it hath suche an emperour, but moste happie are we that haue suche a father. Liue noble Alexander, for the goddes doe fauour the, all princes doe honour the, all yll men doe dreade the, all good men loue the. Liue and prosper moste excellent emperour.

With

¶ with these and other moste ioyouse acclamacions, the emperour issued out of the Theatre, and departed towarde his palaice, hauyng with hym Marcus Geminus, all the streetes beyng full of men women and childzen, castyng before him innumerable roses and other swete floures. The next daie was the emperours iudgement putte in execution, and Geminus admitted in to the Senate.

¶ This was the last iudgement that the emperour gaue openly in his owne person, diuerse other iudgementes he gaue, whiche were in tables accordyng as other emperours vsed to do.

¶ Hitherto is the report of Eucolpius, muche more he wrate, as it seemed. for diuers quaires lacked in the boke. Wherfore to make some perfect conclusion, I toke the residue out of other, whiche wrate also the life of this emperour.

Heros

Herodianus a Greeke authour, writeth, that the iourney made against Artaxerxes, the kynge of Persia, was loste through the slacknesse of Alexander, whom he supposeth to be reteined from his enterprise by his mother Mammea: Who wold not iette hir sonne ieoparde his persone against the Persianes: but Lampridius, who gathered his woorke out of the bookes of Acoolius and Eucolpius, who were alwaie in companie with the emperour Alexander, writeth in this wise: He beeyng suche an emperour in his house and abrode, he enterprised the iourney of Parthia, whervnto he prepared all thynges, with suche discipline and reuerence aboute his owne persone, that it mought bee sated, that Senatours wente, and not souldiours. Where so euer the hoste was, the chiefe captaines were circumspecte, the captaines honeste, the souldiours beloued. And therfore the inhabitauntes of countreis receiued hym as god. The men of warre loued the ponge emperour as their brother, their sõne, and

and their father. They were honestely cladde, conuenientely hosed, and shodde, richely armed, very well horsed, with harneise and bridelles accordyngly trimmed, that he whiche beheelde the emperours army, shoulde haue perceiued the state of the weale publike. He hym selfe labored to be iudged worthy to haue the name of Alexander, and to surmount hym of Macedone. In such fourme he went into Persia, and vanquished kinge Artaxerxes, who came agaynste hym with seuen hundred elephantes bearynge on their backes towers of woodde, full of archers and artillery. Also a thousande and fiue hundred charlottes, armed with sithes, and people innumerable. And afterwarde Alexander retourned vnto the citee of Antioche, and with the praie that he toke of the Persianes, he made all his men of warre riche.

Than first beganne Persianes, to be slaues to the Romaines. But because the kynges of Persia dooe disdeigne, that anie of their people shall lyue in seruitude, he was

content

content, that thei shulde be redemed: the money beyng geuen to them, whiche toke theym prisoners: Beyng returned to Rome, was conueighed vnto his palaice with all the senatours, gentilmen & people, the wiues and children of his souldeours enuyronyng hym, and his triumphall chariot folowyng hym, beyng drawen with foure great elephantes. And entryng into his palaice, he was lift vp with the handes of the people, so that during the space of foure houres he moughte not walke on his feete, all the people cryng aboute, Howe is Rome saufe, for Alexander is saufely returned.

¶ Afterwarde he liued in moste tender loue of the people and Senate: but at the laste the Germaines, wastyng and destroiyng the countrey, he beyng ashamed, that the Parthians, nowe beynge vanquished, that nacion should preasse so nigh to the heade of the weale publike, whiche people were subdued by petite emperours: he prepared his votage towarde thē, and departed againste all mens willes,

curry

euery man bringyng hym a hundred and fiftie myles on his waie, with hope of victory, and soone retourne to the citee: but beeyng in Fraunce, and findyng the legions seditious, he commanded them to be selected. By whiche occasion the frenche mennes stomakes, as they be alwaie obstinate & frowarde, and otte̅times displeasant vnto the emperours, wolde not suffre any longer his rigorouse grauitee.

Wherfore certaine souldiours, whiche were enriched by Heliogabalus, by the comfort and aide of that monstruouse mulettour Maximus, whom thei made afterwarde emperour, they sodeinly entryng into the pauilion of Alexander, slewe bothe hym and his mother, he nothyng fearing their malice.

¶ Other opinions there bee of his deathe. Finally the rage of vnthrifty persons, whiche mought not susteine his excellent vertues, traiterously slewe this moste noble emperour: Whose death all Rome lamented, all good men bewailed, all the

worlde repented, whom the Senate Deified, noble fame renoumed, al wise men honoured, noble writers commended. Whose life maie worthily be a paterne to knightes, an example to iudges, a mirrour to princes, a beutifull image to all them that are like to be gouernours: Wherby they maie haue in continuall remembrance, to imbrace and folow his moste excellent qualitees.

FINIS.

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FINIS TABALAE.

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